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Romanian Book Production, 1770–1830*

Alexander Drace-Francis

The history of the book in the modern period was for a long time presented as a narrative of the progress of reason and enlightenment, relatively valid for all types of book and all parts of the world.¹ Increased reading and contact with new types of text had the potential to cause revolutions.² For Western Europe, this model has been questioned from various points of view: the publishing industry viewed as a manipulative instrument of commerce rather than a handmaiden of real social change;³ the survival of traditional world-views within apparently 'modern', 'bourgeois' social practice;⁴ lack of evidence for a genuine expansion of the reading public;⁵ the hidden assumptions (teleological, Eurocentric) behind such assertions;⁶ and so forth.⁷

East European historians of the development of literature have tended to follow the Eisenstein model, and give great importance to the growth of publications of any kind within a given culture as an autonomous cause of social change.⁸ Even work that criticises claims about linear progress in the East Eu-

* This article is a revised version of pages 71–86 of my PhD thesis 'Literature, Modernity, Nation: the Case of Romania (1830–1890)' (University of London, 2001); further detail on the broader context of Romanian culture in the period may be found therein. I am very grateful for comments made on various drafts by Dennis Deletant, Wendy Bracewell, Peter Siani-Davies, Peter Mackridge, Martyn Rady, Bridget Guzner and the members of the *Solanus* editorial board; also to Lesley Pitman of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies Library for arranging for me to view General Bawr's map of Moldavia.

¹ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1979–1983), 2 vols; Fernand Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life, 1400–1800*, translated by Miriam Kochan (London, 1974); Jack Goody, *The Interface between the Written and the Oral* (Cambridge, 1987).

² Daniel Mornet, *Les origines intellectuelles de la Révolution française (1715–1787)* (Paris, 1933).

³ Robert Darnton, *The Business of Enlightenment: a Publishing History of the 'Encyclopédie', 1775–1800* (Cambridge, MA, London, 1979).

⁴ Margaret C. Jacob, *The Newtonians and the English Revolution* (Ithaca, NJ, 1976).

⁵ J. J. Kloeck and W. W. Mijnhardt, 'The Eighteenth-Century Reading Revolution: A Myth?', Seventh International Congress on the Enlightenment (proceedings published in *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, CCLXIV, Oxford, 1989), pp. 645–651.

⁶ Brian Street, editor, *Cross-Cultural Approaches to Literacy* (Cambridge, 1993).

⁷ For reviews of the literature, see James Raven, 'New Reading Histories, Print Culture and the Identification of Change: the Case of Eighteenth-Century England', *Social History*, XXIII, no. 3, Oct 1998, pp. 268–287.

⁸ G. F. Cushing, 'The Birth of National Literature in Hungary', *Slavonic and East European Review*, XXXVIII, 1959–1960, pp. 459–475; Emil Niederhauser, *The Rise of Nationality in Eastern Europe*, translated by Károly Ravasz (Budapest, 1981); Hugh Seton-Watson, *Language and National Consciousness* (London 1981); James F. Clarke, *The Pen and the Sword: Studies in Bulgarian History* (Boulder, CO, 1988); Peter Brock, *Folk Cultures and Little Peoples: Aspects of National Awakening in East Central Europe* (Boulder, CO, 1992).

ropean historiography on the enlightenment tends to rate the importance of print and literacy in the same way, but merely attempts to demonstrate their reduced presence at a given time.⁹

This article deals with some of these debates, offering a short overview of the development of printing in the Romanian language in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This was a period in which Romanian speakers were spread across the confines of two great empires (the Habsburg and Ottoman) and came to the close attention and partially under the rule of a third (the Russian), while having few distinct political institutions of their own. However, the publication of Romanian books increased continuously in this period, and the percentage of secular books produced also rose. This has often been read in terms of 'preparation' for or 'overture' to the national movements of the nineteenth century, which led to the Union of the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia (1861), formal independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1878, and integration of mainly Romanian-speaking provinces (Transylvania, the Partium and the Banat from the Habsburg Empire, Bessarabia from Russia) into a new state after World War I. There are a surprisingly large number of works on the general history of Romanian culture in this period,¹⁰ but there is no comprehensive treatment of the history of the Romanian book in any language, only a number of all-too-brief surveys.¹¹ For the data in this article I have therefore had recourse to Romanian bibliographies and consultation

⁹ Rhoads Murphey, 'Westernisation in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire: How Far, How Fast?', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, XXIII, 1999, pp. 116–139. For a different approach, see Gary Marker, *Publishing, Printing and the Origins of Intellectual Life in Russia, 1700–1800* (Princeton, 1985), and Robert Mathieson, 'Cyrillic and Glagolitic Printing and the Eisenstein Thesis', *Solanus*, New Series, vol. 6 (1992), pp. 3–26.

¹⁰ Recommended in Western languages are: Keith Hitchins, *The Romanians, 1744–1866* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 1–230; the special number of the *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française*, juillet/sept 1976, no. 225: Les pays roumains à l'âge des Lumières. On intellectual development in the period, see: Vlad Georgescu, *Political Ideas and the Enlightenment in the Romanian Principalities 1750–1831*, translated by Mary Lăzărescu (Boulder, CO, 1971); Alexandru Duțu, *European Intellectual Movements and the Modernisation of Romanian Culture* (Bucharest, 1981); Pompiliu Teodor, editor, *Enlightenment and Romanian Society* (Cluj-Napoca, 1980). More conservative than the above works in estimating social change (and more judicious, in my opinion) are Lauro Grassi, 'Per una storia della penetrazione dei "lumi" nei Principati danubiani (1740–1802): note e appunti', *Nuova rivista storica*, LXIII, 1979, pp. 1–32, and Andrei Pippidi, 'L'accueil de la philosophie française du XVIIIe siècle dans les principautés roumaines', in Al Zub, editor, *La Révolution française et les roumains* (Iași, 1989), pp. 213–250.

¹¹ Emile Turdeanu, *Le Livre roumain à travers les siècles* (Paris, 1959); Dumitru Trancă and Ion Marinescu, *A General Survey of the Romanian Book* (Bucharest, 1968); Mircea Tomescu, *Istoria cărții românești de la începuturi până la 1918* (Bucharest, 1968); Dan Simonescu and Gheorghe Buluță, *Pagini din istoria cărții românești* (Bucharest, 1981) (revised edition: *Scurtă istorie a cărții românești*, Bucharest, 1994). There is, however, a good survey of the early period (to 1715): Dennis Deletant, *Studies in Romanian History* (Bucharest, 1991), pp. 116–185 (first published in the *Slavonic and East European Review*, LIII, 2, 1975, pp. 161–174; LX, 4, 1982, pp. 481–499; LXI, 4, 1983, pp. 481–511).

of some original editions.¹²

Before 1830, presses in Wallachia and Moldavia were almost exclusively run by monks or other clergy, with the occasional secular specialist brought in from Central Europe, Russia or Greece but still under ecclesiastical supervision. The rights of the church to a monopoly on printing had been reiterated several times. However, the right of the temporal powers to police the church's activity had lately also been asserted: in 1784, Prince Michael Soutzos of Wallachia issued an order forbidding the church to publish works without his prior approval.¹³

Religious works dominated pre-modern Romanian printing. Until the 1770s, well over eighty per cent of book production consisted of religious works: prayer books, books of hours, psalters, liturgies, and the occasional hagiography or edition of the gospels. It is only after 1820 that this figure reduces below fifty per cent. A foreign observer naturally associated the publishing activities of the Orthodox Church with pedantry and obfuscation: the printing of liturgies was merely a way of extracting money from the clergy, as a high price could be demanded for such symbolic objects.¹⁴ Modern scholars have arrived at a more refined but broadly similar conclusion, namely that the princes and ecclesiastical authorities continued to promote traditional theocratic profiles in their public activities, while secularizing tendencies existed

¹² The indispensable *Bibliografia românească veche (1508–1830)*, edited by Ion Bianu, Nerva Hodoş and Don Simonescu (Bucharest, 1903–44), 4 vols; Daniela Poenaru, *Contribuții la bibliografia românească veche* (Tîrgoviște, 1973); Paul Mihail and Zamfira Mihail, *Acte în limba română tipărite în Basarabia: precedate de Bibliografia tipăriturilor românești din Basarabia, 1812–1830* (Bucharest, 1993); Dan Râpă-Buicliu, *Bibliografia românească veche. Additamenta, I (1536–1830)* (Galați, 2000). I have counted books in Romanian of over 20 pages. I have followed N. Bellu, 'Date noi privind începuturile tiparului la Craiova', *Ramuri*, XIII, 7, 1976, p. 14, in his demonstration that there was no press at Craiova before 1838 and therefore that *BRV* nos. 1426, 1428, 1478, 1479, 1489 and 1494 (see vol. III, pp. 648, 658, 681, 683, 692, 701) were printed at Sibiu.

Ambrus Miskolczy, 'Le rôle des publications de l'imprimerie universitaire de Buda dans l'évolution de la culture roumaine de la fin du XVIIIe siècle à 1830', in *Typographia Universitatis Hungaricae Budae (1777–1830)*, publié par Péter Kiraly (Budapest, 1983), pp. 301–308, also produced a tabulation by publishing centres but he omitted numerous smaller centres, and any locations then part of the USSR (presumably because considered 'Moldavian' according to Soviet language policy); Daniel Barbu, 'Loisir et pouvoir. Le temps de la lecture dans les pays roumains au XVIIIe siècle', *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, XXVIII, 1–2, 1990, pp. 17–27, is an excellent tabulation according to genre but gives no attention to place of publication, and divides up periods unevenly according to political criteria, which has its uses, but makes periods difficult to compare. An analysis of Romanian and Greek manuscripts to 1800 is Andrei Pippidi, 'Early modern libraries and readers in South-Eastern Europe', *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, XIX, 4, 1981, pp. 705–721.

¹³ Marius Oprea, *Plimbare pe ulița tipografiei* (Bucharest, 1996), pp. 169–180; M. Tomescu (note 11), pp. 95–97.

¹⁴ Ignazio Stefano Raicevich, *Osservazioni storiche, naturali e politiche intorno la Valachia, e Moldavia* (Naples, 1788), pp. 244–245. Raicevich also notes the sale of printed indulgences by the Patriarch of Jerusalem on the occasion of his visit to the Principalities (237–239). One from 1784 has been preserved: *BRV* (note 12), II, p. 286.

below the surface and in the private sphere.¹⁵

The divide between religious and secular is not always easy to draw. An ostensibly religious figure like Chesarie, Bishop of Râmnic in Wallachia, allowed himself space for musings on the philosophy of history, as well as the Word of God: his prefaces to the *menaia* published at Râmnic (1776–1780) included excerpts and adaptations from the *Encyclopédie*.¹⁶ Meanwhile a psalter published at Iași (1794) had in an annex a list of all the princes of Moldavia since 1352.¹⁷ The circulation of secular ideas thus often took place under the respectable cover of divine service books. Likewise, the equation between secular books and innovative ideas is often hazardous: many secular works might be more pedantic and obscurantist in character than the religious ones.¹⁸ Moreover, it was rare to find secular works that drew no inspiration from religion at all. Ienăchiță Văcărescu's *Observations on the Rules of Romanian Grammar and History of the Ottoman Empire*, composed in the 1780s and 1790s, are ostensibly works of the Enlightenment, but the author described himself firstly as 'dicheofilax (Just Protector) of the Great Eastern Church', and only secondarily as 'Grand Spathar of Wallachia'.¹⁹

Romanian book production as a whole increased slowly and consistently throughout the eighteenth century. Book output was much greater than among the neighbouring Serbs and Bulgarians, who had no printing presses on their territories prior to the nineteenth century (see the comparative table, fig. 1).²⁰ In Southeastern Europe only the Greeks, whose output for the eighteenth century ran to over 1,500 books, exceeded them in this respect. Compared to Western Europe, however, the gap is again staggering. More books were published in one year in France in 1584, than appeared in Romanian in the entire eighteenth century.²¹ In the first decade of the nineteenth century, Romanians produced about twenty books a year, as against nearly

¹⁵ See Daniel Barbu, 'Loisir et pouvoir' (note 12).

¹⁶ Al. Duțu, *Coordonatele culturii române în secolul al XVIII-lea (1700–1821)* (Bucharest, 1968), pp. 147–150.

¹⁷ *BRV* (note 12), II, p. 371.

¹⁸ See the discussion in Peter Mackridge, 'The Greek Intelligentsia 1780–1830: a Balkan Perspective', in Richard Clogg, editor, *Balkan Society in the Age of Greek Independence* (London, 1981), pp. 63–84.

¹⁹ A point made by N. Iorga in *Histoire des Roumains*, VIII (Bucharest, 1940), p. 21.

²⁰ Greek data are drawn from Catherine Koumarianou, 'The Contribution of the Intelligentsia towards the Greek Independence Movement' in Richard Clogg, editor, *The Struggle for Greek Independence* (London, Basingstoke, 1973), p. 70, Serbian data from Georgije Mihailović, *Srpska bibliografija XVIII veka* (Belgrade, 1964). The first Bulgarian printed book, the *Nedelnic*, was published by Bishop Sofronie of Vratsa at Râmnic, Wallachia in 1806. *BRV* (note 12), II, pp. 490–492.

²¹ Emanuel le Roy Ladurie, *L'historien, le chiffre et le texte* (Paris, 1997), p. 39.

3,000 annually in French, and around 6,000 in English.²²

	1701–1725	1726–1750	1751–1775	1776–1800
Greek	107	210	455	749
Romanian	86	133	164	267
Serbian	10	16	102	283

Fig. 1. Greek, Romanian and Serbian printing, 1701–1800

There had been few religious works printed in Romanian in Transylvania since the transfer in 1700 of the Orthodox metropolitanate to the Uniate, or Greek-Catholic church, which retained Eastern rites of worship but recognized the Pope as its spiritual leader.²³ But in 1747 the old Orthodox press was moved from Alba Iulia to Blaj, the seat of the Uniate church in Transylvania, and a number of liturgical books were published in Romanian,²⁴ culminating in a complete new translation of the Bible (1795). The following year Maria Theresa forbade the import of Orthodox books into the Empire.²⁵ In an attempt to win over the Orthodox population, the Uniates resorted at times to false imprints with a view to export across the Carpathians (books printed in Blaj claimed to come from Orthodox Râmnic in Wallachia).²⁶ They made little progress on the religious front—in 1762 the Habsburgs were forced to reappoint an Orthodox Metropolitan in Transylvania—but the Blaj publications undoubtedly circulated in the Principalities, while Austrian border guards were already on the lookout for ‘heretical’ works coming the other way. Orthodox writers in the Principalities reacted strongly, like Meletie, bishop of Roman, who in his *Announcement about books published in Transylvania* warned readers against ‘the wicked reckonings of the Westerners’.²⁷

After 1770, a much stronger secular tradition of printing pedagogical and economic works developed in the Habsburg Empire, as part of the general drive by the Habsburg Emperor Joseph II (1765–1790) to cultivate the population, and instil practical economy and literacy in his subjects. Unprecedented types of text—guides to potato cultivation, secular handbooks of morals, gram-

²² Ibid. (for France); Simon Eliot, ‘Patterns and Trends and the Nineteenth-Century Short Title Catalogue—Some Initial Observations’, *Publishing History*, XLII, October 1997, p. 87 (for Britain).

²³ Keith Hitchins, *A Nation Discovered: Romanian Intellectuals and the Idea of Nation in Transylvania, 1700–1848* (Bucharest, 1999), pp. 11–41.

²⁴ Ioan Georgescu, ‘Tipografia din Blaj’, *Boabe de grâu*, V, 1, 1934, pp. 1–31; Zenobie Pîclișanu, *ibid.*, pp. 105–108.

²⁵ Florian Dudaș, *Vechi cărți românești călătore* (Bucharest, 1987), pp. 187–196.

²⁶ E.g. *Apostol*, Râmnic, 1784, see *BRV* (note 12), IV, pp. 96–97.

²⁷ *Înștiințare despre cărți tipărite în Ardeal* (Iași, 1805), *ibid.*, pp. 122–123.

mars and mathematical textbooks—were published in unprecedented print-runs: up to 10,000 copies in some cases.²⁸ Under the impact of Josephinist cultural policy, the Habsburg lands henceforth proved to be a powerful centre of diffusion for all Romanians, as well as for Greeks and Serbs.²⁹

In 1789, the French revolution broke out, causing widespread alarm in all the monarchies of Europe: in 1790 Joseph II revoked his enlightened reforms on his deathbed; the year after that the Transylvanian Romanians stepped up their claims to be considered as a separate constituted nation, presenting their famous *Supplex Libellus Valachorum* to the Emperor Leopold. All these factors determined the Habsburgs to concentrate on disseminating a reactionary, anti-French ideology.³⁰ A request for a Romanian newspaper was turned down in 1790, on the grounds that it might spread ‘the spirit of French insubordination’.³¹ Even an edition of the *Alexander* romance published at Sibiu in 1794 was confiscated by the authorities, to protect the people ‘on account of their lack of cultivation, inclined towards superstition’.³²

But the reaction was not total, and was relatively short-lived. In 1798, the University of Buda Press, which had previously printed a few Romanian catechisms and alphabet books in Latin letters and Hungarian orthography, acquired a Cyrillic typeface and began a large and consistent series of Romanian publications; in the first thirty years of the nineteenth century this was the largest single centre for Romanian publications. Distinguished Transylvanian intellectuals, Uniate priests and school directors worked here as censors and correctors, and published linguistic and historical works that stand at the beginning of Romanian cultural nationalism through print: Paul Iorgovici’s *Observații de limbă românească* (*Observations on the Romanian Language*, 1799); Samuil (Micu) Clain’s *Legile firei* (*Laws of Nature*, 1800) and his *Loghică*

²⁸ Cornelia Bodea, ‘Préoccupations économiques et culturelles dans les textes transylvains des années 1786–1830’, in Romul Munteanu, editor, *La culture roumaine à l’époque des Lumières*, vol. I (Bucharest, 1982), pp. 227–261; Nicolae Edroiu, ‘Economic Literature of the 1780–1820 Period and Romanian Society’, in P. Teodor, editor, *Enlightenment and Romanian Society* (note 10), pp. 40–54. A print run of 10,000 each for Serbian-German and Romanian-German catechisms (Rajić, 1776) is given in P. Adler, ‘Notes on the Beginnings of Modern Serbian Literature: the Kurzbeck Press in Vienna and its Successors, 1770–1800’, *Southeastern Europe*, I, 1 (1974), p. 40.

²⁹ D. Russo, *Studii istorice greco-române* (Bucharest, 1939), II, pp. 353–358; Paschalis M. Kitromilides, *The Enlightenment as Social Criticism, Iosipos Moisiodax and Greek Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton, 1992), pp. 95–103; Adler, ‘Notes’ (note 28), pp. 34–45.

³⁰ Ernst Wangermann, *From Joseph II to the Jacobin Trials*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1969), pp. 36–49. Censorship became even more severe after 1792 (*ibid.*, pp. 111–112).

³¹ I. Lupaș, ‘Cea mai veche revistă literară’, *Anuarul institutului de istorie națională*, I, 1922, pp. 120–137. Romanian intellectuals acquiesced in disseminating official Francophobia: Samuil Clain, for instance, wrote in his *Short History of the Romanians* that knowledge of French ‘increases the madness of men and leads them still further from the Christian life’. See K. Hitchins, *Studies in Rumanian National Consciousness* (Rome, 1983), p. 40.

³² Liliana Popa, ‘Despre valorile bibliofile românești tiparite de Petru Barth (1784–1801)’, *Valori bibliofile din patrimoniul cultural național*, II (Râmnicu Vilcea, 1983), pp. 336–340.

(*Logic*, 1799); Gheorghe Șincai's *Elementa linguae daco-romanae* (1805); and his *Hronica românilor* (*Chronicle of the Romanians*, 1807–1808); Petru Maior's *Istoria pentru începutul românilor în Dacia* (*History of the Origin of the Romanians in Dacia*, 1812); and the quadrilingual Romanian-Latin-Hungarian-German dictionary (*Lexicon romanescu-latinescu-ungurescu-nemțescu*) of 1825.

The existence of the presses in the Empire was of considerable use to the intellectuals of the Principalities, who frequently went to Transylvania, Hungary or Austria to publish their works. The first published translations into Romanian of Voltaire (*Orestes*, 1820) and Heineccius (*Logique*, 1829) were done respectively by a Moldavian boyar (Alexandru Beldiman) and a Wallachian monk (Eufrosin Poteca); but both were printed at Buda.³³ The fact that Romanian as well as Greek intellectuals from the Principalities were actively contributing to the output of the Habsburg presses is important as it mitigates the impression that the Habsburg effort to enlighten the Romanians was exclusively a one-way process.³⁴

The influence of Austrian cultural policy became evident quite quickly in the Principalities. In 1776, Prince Alexandru Ypsilanti hired two Greek master craftsmen to develop the Metropolitan press at Bucharest, and declared a ban on the import of books from abroad.³⁵ In 1796, during his second reign in Wallachia, Ypsilanti sponsored the publication of the first work of agricultural instruction to appear there. Geographical and arithmetical texts now began to appear in Romanian east of the Carpathians.³⁶ But the general conditions of political insecurity, frequent changes of prince, and another long war between Russia and Turkey (1806–1812) meant that the few efforts of Enlightenment through print could not be sustained through a regular policy for any length of time.

In the period 1776–1830 only just over half (52.5%) of Romanian-language books were printed in the Habsburg Empire. In fact, 1786–1790 and 1796–1815 were the only intervals in this period and quite probably in the whole of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when more Romanian books were published in Habsburg lands than in the 'Orthodox space' of Wallachia and Moldavia. However, the publication of secular works was proceeding faster in the Habsburg lands, and had begun earlier (see figs 3–6).

³³ See the bibliography drawn up by Sámuel Domokos in Péter Király, editor, *Typographia Universitatis Hungaricae Budae* (note 12), pp. 488–490.

³⁴ As for instance is argued by Mathias Bernath, *Habsburg und die Anfänge der rumänischen Nations-bildung* (Leiden, 1972); a more judicious presentation in Eva Behring, *Rumänische Literaturgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Konstanz, 1994), pp. 83–104.

³⁵ Mihai M. Fănescu, 'Din istoria comerțului cu cartea în Moldova și Țara Românească între anii 1775 și 1821', *Studia bibliologica*, III, 1, 1969, p. 170.

³⁶ Amfilohie Hotinul, *De obște gheografie* (Iași, 1795); *Elementi de aritmetica* (Iași, 1795). Similar such texts of a slightly earlier date have survived in manuscript form: for a detailed analysis, see N. A. Ursu, *Formarea terminologiei științifice românești* (Bucharest, 1962).

It would be a mistake to underestimate the importance for the development of print culture of the repeated Russian military occupations of the Principalities. Russian involvement has often been seen as negative by historians, and has been given considerably less attention than that of Austria.³⁷ Nevertheless we can also see an ideology of print-civilization being promoted during the successive occupations. In 1771, the Russian army brought a number of books with them for distribution, while Romanian monks travelled to Moscow and St Petersburg to obtain more. The first (manuscript) translations of Voltaire into Romanian constituted pro-Russian journalism distributed in 1772 at the order of Catherine the Great;³⁸ and the following year the Empress's famous *Nakaz*, or 'Regulation', was translated into Romanian and published at Iași.³⁹ In the 1780s, a Russophile printer of Polish origin, Mikhail Strylbit'skii, set up a press in Iași which published a number of unprecedented types of work, such as *A curious account of physiognomy* and *Romanian-Russian dialogues*. He used a typeface close to Russian civil orthography, and probably operated as an agent for Catherine the Great. His *Calendar for 112 Years* (Iași, 1785) contains the first recipe for toothpaste ever published in Romanian (you boil stag antler and then grind it down); this and other folk remedies for deafness, snake bites and toothache were read in Transylvania and republished there nine years later.⁴⁰

The first secular press to be run in the Principalities was thus a product of Russian influence.⁴¹ So too was the first newspaper: what the Austrians refused in 1789 in Transylvania was achieved in Moldavia in 1790, as Prince Grigorii Potemkin brought a press almost at the head of the Russian military effort. If promises of a new edition of Tacitus's *Germanica* were not forthcom-

³⁷ For example: N. Iorga, *Idées et formes françaises dans le sud-est de l'Europe* (Paris, 1924), pp. 24–26; John Campbell, 'The Influence of Western Political Thought in the Rumanian Principalities, 1821–1848', *Journal of Central European Affairs*, IV, 3, 1944, pp. 269–270; D. Djordjevic and S. Fischer-Galati, *The Balkan Revolutionary Tradition* (New York, 1981), pp. 57–64; G. Castellan, 'La Révolution française et son impact en Europe du Sud-Est', *Etudes balkaniques*, 1/1990, pp. 16–22. Among much propagandistic scholarship on Russian influence from the 1948–1964 period, the most scholarly and useful survey is G. Bezviconi, *Contribuții la istoria relațiilor romîno-ruse* (Bucharest, 1962).

³⁸ Violeta Barbu, 'Cele mai vechi traduceri din Voltaire în limbă română', *Limba română*, XXXVI, 6, 1987, pp. 525–532, and XXXVII, 1, 1988, pp. 39–54, refines the conclusions of A. Camariano, *Spiritul revoluționar francez și Voltaire în limba greacă și română* (Bucharest, 1946), pp. 131–144.

³⁹ A. Camariano-Cioran, 'Traducerile în limba greacă și română a "Nacazului" (Învățătura) Ecaterinei a II-a', *Studii*, IX, 2, 1958, pp. 123–132.

⁴⁰ G. Brătescu, editor, *Grijă pentru sănătate. Primele tipărituri de interes medical în limba română, 1581–1820* (Bucharest, 1988), p. 269. Likewise, a pamphlet containing 'A few cures for people' (*Cîteva dohtorii pentru oameni*, Bucharest, 1806) was plagiarised by the compilers of a calendar published in Buda in 1818. *Ibid.*, p. 253. On dental hygiene see also I. Seligher, *Povățuire pentru curățenia gurii* (Bucharest, 1828) (*BRV*, III, p. 603).

⁴¹ Emile Picot, 'Notice bibliographique sur le protopope Mihail Strêlbickij', *Recueil de mémoires orientaux*, Publications de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Vième série, vol. V (Paris, 1905), pp. 339–367.

ing, then a French paper, the *Courier [sic] de Moldavie*, came out in several issues, mainly dedicated to eulogies of the Russian empress.⁴² Among several works in Russian put out by this press was a translation of Pope's *An Essay on Man*, and a Protestant work of Christian explication translated from the English was also published at Iași.⁴³ Romanian writers were clearly influenced by this current, as some time in the 1790s Strylbit'skii published the first book of poetry in Romanian, the Wallachian boyar Ioan Cantacuzino's *Poezii noo* ('new poems'), including adaptations from Pope's *An Essay on Man* and Young's *Night Thoughts*.⁴⁴ Books published in the Principalities bore the image of the double-headed eagle alongside, or even grasping in its talons, the coats of arms of Moldavia and Wallachia.⁴⁵ Meanwhile Greek scholars operating in the principalities dedicated their publications to Russian emperors or generals.⁴⁶

There is little evidence of these works circulating widely, and it is possible that the inhabitants of Iași were more excited by the English beer brought by Potemkin's army than the arrival of French newspapers.⁴⁷ But Russia's imperial prestige and the imposition of a model which was at once revolutionary in its call to arms, and psychologically amenable because the Russians were 'of a

⁴² C. Ciuchindel, editor, 'Despre începuturile presei românești: *Courrier de Moldavie*', *Limbă și literatură*, II, 1956, pp. 349–366, reproduces the surviving issues. On promises of Tacitus see V. A. Urechia, *Istoria românilor* (Bucharest, 1892), II, pp. 166–167.

⁴³ *Islidovanie khristianstva* (BRV (note 12), II, p. 339). A copy had not been seen by the compilers. Copies are listed in the *Svodnyi katalog russkoi knigi grazhdanskoi pečati* (Moscow, 1962–1975), where the author is identified as Johan Arndt, 1555–1621. See vol. I, p. 55, no. 262. Other Russian publications not listed in BRV at I, nos. 126–129; II, nos. 2805, 5497, 5541.

⁴⁴ Only one copy of Cantacuzino's work has survived: this was rediscovered in the 20th century, is in private hands, and was not fully republished until 1993 (*Poezii nouă*, ed. A. Nestorescu, Bucharest). See: G. Ivănescu and N. A. Ursu, 'Un scriitor muntean de la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea', *Studii și cercetări științifice—filologie*, X, 1–2, 1959, pp. 135–140; Al. Alexianu, 'Din cărțile vechii Mitropolii din București', *Glasul bisericii*, XXVI, 5–6, 1967, pp. 609–639.

⁴⁵ See, for example: *Alexandria* (Romanian Academy Library ms. 869, copied in Iași, 1790)—N. Iorga, 'Faze sufletești și cărți reprezentative la români', *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile secțiunii istorice*, s. II, t. xxxvii, 1914–1915, p. 599, tracks down a reader's marginal note admiring the illustrations; *Molitvenic* (Bucharest, 1794); *Viețile sfinților pe luna Septemvrie* (Neamț Monastery, 1807); Dionisius Photeinos, *Istoria tis pálai Dakías* (Vienna, 1818–19), 3 vols (BRV (note 12), II, p. 369, 507, 530; III, pp. 251–258). To my knowledge this symbol was first used by the Russian general Friedrich Wilhelm von Bawr, *Carte de la Moldavie: pour servir à l'histoire militaire de la guerre entre les Russes et les Turcs* (Amsterdam, 1781) (copy in the School of Slavonic and East European Studies Library, London).

⁴⁶ Dimitrios (Daniil) Philippidis and Grigorios Kostandas, *Geography* (1791), dedicated to Potemkin; Philippidis's *Istoria tis Roumounias* of 1816 to Tsar Alexander I (Bezviconi (note 37), p. 174); in 1810 the director of the Academy at Iași, Govdelas, sent some of his textbooks to the Tsar as a token of his 'attachment and hereditary inclination for Russia' (Radu Rosetti, 'Arhiva senatorilor din Chișinău, III', *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile secțiunii istorice*, II, t. XXXII, 1909–1910, pp. 172–173).

⁴⁷ For the English beer, see N. Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călători* (Bucharest, 1928), III, p. 112.

faith' with both Greeks and Romanians, proved extremely attractive.⁴⁸

Numerous Romanian publications began to appear in Russia itself after the annexation of Bessarabia—with its substantial Romanian population—in 1812. These were largely administrative and religious in nature, but included such important works as a complete Bible—the first Orthodox one in Romanian since 1688—produced by the British and Foreign Bible Society in St. Petersburg in 1814, and the new 'constitution' (*Așezământ* in Romanian, *Ustav* in Russian) of Bessarabia at Chișinău in 1818. Besides a substantial number of *feuilles volantes*, a total of 38 Romanian books appeared on Russian soil in the period to 1830.⁴⁹

The great majority of publications in the Principalities were in Romanian. Although the eighteenth century has sometimes been viewed as a period of oppressive Hellenisation at the hands of the Phanariot rulers, the number of publications in Greek in the period was relatively insignificant, both in terms of total output in the Romanian lands and in terms of Greek publishing generally, for which Venice and Vienna were much more powerful centres.

In Transylvania, on the other hand, it was Romanian books that were in the minority, when compared to production in the languages of government and the elite, namely Latin, Hungarian and German. Working from the various catalogues, the researcher Mihály Sebestyén-Spielmann has calculated a total of 4073 titles of all kinds and in all languages for the period 1701–1800. He does not give totals for different languages, but my own researches would suggest that publications in Romanian could account for between 8% and 15% of this total, depending on how it is calculated—and this despite the fact that Romanians formed over 50% of the population of the province. It is not surprising then, that Romanian intellectuals in Transylvania both bemoaned their fate and the uneducated state of their people, and chose to learn other languages from an early age if they wished to advance themselves intellectually.⁵⁰

Nearly all Romanian publications of the period used the Old Cyrillic typeface: indeed the use of this lettering to print a vernacular language constituted

⁴⁸ John Nicolopoulos, 'From Agathangelos to the Megale Idea: Russia and the Emergence of Modern Greek Nationalism', *Balkan Studies*, XXVI, 1985, p. 43.

⁴⁹ Paul Mihail and Zamfira Mihail (note 12) lists numerous documents not included in *BRV*. A plan by the Russian Bible Society to set up a press in Chișinău to produce a bible 'in Moldavian' 'for the ancient inhabitants of Macedonia' seems not to have got off the ground. James F. Clarke, 'The Russian Bible Society and the Bulgarians', *Harvard Slavic Studies*, III, 1957, pp. 67–103, reprinted in *The Pen and the Sword* (note 8), pp. 233–270.

⁵⁰ Mihály Sebestyén-Spielmann, 'Contribuții la istoria tipografiilor din secolul al 18-lea. Cazul Transilvaniei', *Altera*, Târgu Mureș, an VI, nr.14, 2000, pp.175–187. An important new study on the Romanian intellectuals is Remus Câmpeanu, *Intellectualitatea română din Transilvania în veacul al XVIII-lea* (Cluj-Napoca, 1999), which meticulously documents Romanian attendance at non-Romanian schools.)

a fairly unique case in the East European world.⁵¹ A few attempts had been made from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries to devise an orthography for Romanian using Latin letters.⁵² The only instances to be found in the period under consideration occurred in the context of Habsburg attempts to first Catholicise the Romanians and then (from the late 1770s) to prepare them to learn German. It is interesting to note that these policies also targeted Serbs living in the Habsburg Empire and were not exclusively bound up with conceptions of the Latinity of the Romanians.⁵³ However, Romanians in the service of the Emperor often emphasised this theme wherever the occasion arose; and a series of Transylvanian Romanian writers, beginning with Daniel Lazzarini in 1769 and culminating with Petru Maior's 'Dissertation on the old letters of the Romanians', included in his *History of the Origins of the Romanians in Dacia* (Buda, 1812), made claims for the Latin alphabet as the 'natural' form for written Romanian, following the (unsubstantiated) arguments of the Moldavian prince Dimitrie Cantemir at the beginning of the eighteenth century, to the effect that Romanians had used Latin letters in (now lost!) writings until the mid-fifteenth century.⁵⁴ The ideological manoeuvrings linking orthography with identity were indeed new, and became more widespread, but they cannot be said to have had a wide effect on society. No works were printed in the Latin alphabet in the Principalities before the 1830s; as late as 1865 the Romanian writer from the Banat, Nicolae Tincu Velia, published his *Church History* in Cyrillic for fear that Latin letters would not be understood by the majority.

Of course, these Romanian books were not the only thing read by the literate inhabitants of the Principalities. Greek being the language of the elite, it is not suprising that a large proportion of subscriptions for Greek books came from Bucharest and Iași, which rivalled Constantinople and Vienna as consumers of the new (and increasingly secular) literature in this language, and even outstripped the demand from the areas later to form part of the Greek

⁵¹ Mathieson (note 9), p. 13.

⁵² Emil Vîrtosu, *Paleografia româno-chirilică* (Bucharest, 1968), pp. 196–250 provides the fullest account, although not complete. Dan Berindei, 'Der Übergang von kyrillischen zu lateinischen Buchstaben in der Schrift der Rumänen', in Peter Rück, editor, *Methoden der Schriftbeschreibung* (Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 171–175, adds little new.

⁵³ On the Latinizing current (which also targeted Serbs) and its failure, see Roger V. Paxton, 'Identity and Consciousness: Culture and Politics among the Habsburg Serbs in the Eighteenth Century', in Ivo Banac, John G. Ackerman and Roman Szporluk, editors, *Nation and Ideology: Essays in Honor of Wayne S. Vucinich* (New York, 1981), pp. 110–111. Some Germanising literature directed at the Romanians is analysed by Valeriu Leu, *Cartea și lumea rurală în Banat, 1700–1830* (Reșița, 1996), pp. 135–139.

⁵⁴ Leu, *Cartea* (note 53), p. 134, draws attention to Daniel Lazarini's *Bucoavna pentru deprinderea pruncilor la cetanie în limba rumânească cu slovele ceale bătrâne rumânești* (Alphabet book for accustoming infants to read in Romanian with the old Romanian letters) (Vienna 1769–1770), although this was in fact never distributed.

state.⁵⁵ French literary and scientific publications circulated initially among small élite groups, both of boyars and churchmen, including from the 1770s the first masonic lodges on Romanian territory.⁵⁶ This resulted in widespread translation and copying of imaginative literature in manuscript form, at a time when publication would have been a risky political act. Authors claimed to be translating such works ‘simply to pass the time’, or ‘for the useful delectation of numerous readers’ which was a kind of political disingenuousness as much as a declaration of attachment to a theory of the leisure class.⁵⁷ Even translations of modern French fiction were presented with an eye to preserving the reverence accorded to writing as the sole legitimate source of knowledge. The following admonitory verses, inscribed on a manuscript version of Voiture’s *Histoire d’Alcidale et Zélide* in 1783, are eloquent testimony:

Of all the things in the world that exist,
Be it not for me to speak, but Scripture’s to attest.⁵⁸

On the other hand, ownership of books was gradually changing from being a guarantee of religious authority to a symbol of luxury and wealth: boyars ordered the latest Parisian editions and had furniture designed to accommodate them.⁵⁹ By the 1810s, we have some evidence of merchants in Iași selling not only tobacco and coffee but French books, at the express demand of local

⁵⁵ For Greek publishing and patronage in the Principalities, see L. Demény and C. Papacostea-Danielopolu, *Carte și tipar în societatea românească* (Bucharest, 1985), pp. 241–250.

⁵⁶ More critical work is needed on the origins of Romanian freemasonry. For now see: Dan Berindei, ‘Préludes de la révolution roumaine de 1848. Les sociétés secrètes’, *Revue roumaine d’histoire*, XVIII, 3, 1978, pp. 427–445; Dan Cernovodeanu, ‘Le rôle de la franc-maçonnerie roumaine au XIXe siècle’, in *Revue des études roumaines*, XVII–XVIII, 1993, pp. 155–158. Early lodges had their origin in the activity of Russian soldiers during the war of 1768–1774, although there are no Romanian names in the membership list of the Iași lodge published by Anthony Cross, ‘British Freemasons in Russia during the Eighteenth Century’, *Ars Quattuor Coronatorum*, LXXXIV, 1971, pp. 253–254.

⁵⁷ Al. Duțu, ‘Les livres de delectation dans la culture roumaine’, *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, XI, 2, 1973, pp. 307–325.

⁵⁸ ‘Tot cel ce trăiești în lumi, / Eu nu zic, Scriptura spune’, *Istoriia lui Alțidalis și a Zelidei* (ms. 343) *apud* Mihai Moraru and Cătălina Velculescu, *Bibliografia analitică a cărților populare laice*, I–I (Bucharest, 1976), pp. 117.

⁵⁹ N. Iorga, ‘O gospodărie moldovenească din 1777’, *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile secțiunii istorice*, s. III, t. VIII, 1927–1928, p. 113, shows the boyar freemason Canta ordering a bookcase to house his *Chiclopediile* (= *Encyclopédies*); Cornelia Papacostea, ‘O bibliotecă din Moldova la începutul secolului al XIX-lea. Biblioteca de la Stînca’, *Studii și cercetări de bibliologie*, V, 1963, pp. 215–220 describes the library of Iordache Rosetti-Roznovanu (published in full in *Studii și cercetări de bibliologie*, XIII, 1974, pp. 155–170). In 1803 the Moldavian boyar Grigore Sturdza bought some glass panes to furnish his bookcase; the following year he spent a much larger sum on books, globes and maps ordered from Paris (Virginia Isac, ‘Biblioteci personale în Moldova în secolul al XIX-lea’, *Revista arhivelor*, n.s., XII, 1, 1969, pp. 49–50). Meanwhile, in Wallachia in 1790, the boyar Știrbei ordered Cyr’s *Voyages* and Richardson’s *Pamela* from a Sibiu merchant (Iorga, ‘Contribuții la istoria învățământului în țară și în străinătate (1780–1830)’, *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile secțiunii literare*, s. II, t. XXIX, 1906–1907, p. 56).

boyars.⁶⁰

But away from the few centres of cultural production, and the boyars' houses, consumption of reading material remained unsystematized. There was a degree of contact between the élite and the peasantry; it may be true that some boyars were still enjoying peasant spectacles, and that their own culture was to some extent still oral. But this is no reason to propose a 'unified' cultural space, or the dissemination of words and ideas at a uniform rate throughout society. Whatever books or manuscripts circulated, did so in a random and accidental fashion. If there was a 'common culture', or even what Stanley Fish calls an 'interpretive community'⁶¹ at the lower levels of society, it had to deal with a thoroughly jumbled and indistinct variety of texts, of distant origin and written for differing audiences. Transylvanian scribes in around 1800 might copy into the same manuscript works as diverse as the life of a hermit of Mount Athos, a history extracted from the annals of the papal apologist Baronius, and a popular Greek picaresque tale.⁶² One hardly imagines that these works were chosen from a wide selection: they constituted a compendium of writings to hand.

Reverence accorded to books cannot by any means always be interpreted as an indication of a general desire for universal education and enlightenment. The idea of the book still frequently carried sacred or magical connotations, both at the level of the exercise of political power, and in everyday village life. Princes might choose to mark the beginning of their reign by the publication of a work of religious instruction or homilies, as a representation of their mercy (*milă*) towards their subjects, equivalent to the founding of a church, a tradition which continued to have a similar function even when the content of such works became secularized.⁶³ Meanwhile, on the popular level, the *solomonari* or weather-magicians would evoke the book to give credibility to their craft: it was believed that

they learn from books that other people can't understand and cannot read: they learn how to ride dragons, how to summon them, how to keep the weather ... When they finished learning everything from all the books in this world, they went to a faraway country in the East, where they lived in

⁶⁰ N. Iorga, 'Un mare negustor ieșean și clienții săi', *Revista istorică*, XXVIII, 1–12, 1942, pp. 49–54.

⁶¹ Stanley Fish, *Is There a Text in this Class?* (Cambridge, MA, London, 1980), pp. 164–173.

⁶² E. D. Tappe, 'A Rumanian Manuscript Miscellany in the John Rylands Library', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XLII, 2, 1960, pp. 481–492. Cf. Andrei Pippidi, in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, XI, 3, 1973, pp. 575–580.

⁶³ Radu Păun, '“Legitimatio principis” ou le savoir du pouvoir. Les modèles politiques de Nicolas Mavrocordato', in Laurentiu Vlad, editor, *Pouvoirs et mentalités* (Bucharest, 1999), pp. 89–110; Emanuela Popescu-Mihuț, 'Ideologie politică și propagandă în actele cancelariilor domnești din țările Române (1775–1821)', in Al. Duțu, editor, *Sud-Estul european în vremea Revoluției Franceze* (Bucharest, 1994), pp. 76–77.

a cave and sat at a stone table and wrote down all the world's knowledge in a book.⁶⁴

Of course the power of such magic depends on limited knowledge of lettering, which thereby retains a mysterious and powerful character. The use of books to give credibility to a wide range of ritual activities, from the application of folk remedies to ensuring favourable weather conditions, survived well into the twentieth century⁶⁵ and is not to be ignored when considering the reception of ideas about the effects of literature on social change. From this point of view, the most modern ideas could themselves have magical qualities attributed to them.⁶⁶

The importance of both Greek and Russian political and cultural currents in the Principalities can be gauged by the history of the first cultural association to be established there. This was the 'Greco-Dacian Society', also known as the *Philologike Hetairia*, which was founded in Bucharest in 1810 during the Russian military occupation, and was patronized by the Greek patriot and Russian foreign-ministry official Ioannis Kapodistrias.⁶⁷ They met in the main hall of the Bucharest Academy, which was decorated with murals portraying Pindar, Aristotle and learned modern Greeks alongside Tsar Alexander I and his late grandmother, Catherine the Great. The significance of this society, and of the *Philomousos Hetairia* founded at Vienna in 1814, has been much discussed. Both were patronized by Alexander I; the former society seems almost certainly to have aimed at legitimizing Russian rule in the Principalities, to the extent that historical evidence was collected to attempt to prove an early Slavic presence in the Principalities, such as in the origin of the name of the town Rusciuk (Ruse), south of the Danube from Wallachia.⁶⁸

A contemporary observer described how the Apostles of the *Philike Hetairia* ('Friendly Society'), the Greek revolutionary organization founded in Odessa in 1814 and with a wide membership in Moldavia and Wallachia, exploited the idea of culture. They 'cloaked the real purpose of their frequent journeys, by pretending to be engaged in works of charity, and in seeking subscriptions for

⁶⁴ Cited by A. Oișteanu, *Cosmos vs. Chaos: Myth and Magic in Traditional Romanian Culture*, translated by Mirela Adăscăliței (Bucharest, 1999), p. 186. Oișteanu argues that the use of a book in such magic rituals was relatively new; in old Romanian, *carte* could refer to a single document, or even an inscribed ring or talisman.

⁶⁵ For example, Henri H. Stahl, *Aminitri și gînduri* (Bucharest, 1981), pp. 29–30.

⁶⁶ Cf. Dipesh Chakrabarty, 'Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for "Indian" Pasts?', *Representations*, 37, Winter 1992, p. 18: 'Indians arrogated subjecthood to themselves precisely by mobilizing, within the context of modern institutions and sometimes on behalf of the modernizing project of nationalism, devices of collective memory that were both antihistorical and antimodern.'

⁶⁷ Nestor Camariano, 'De l'activité de la "société littéraire greco-dacique" de Bucarest (1810–1812)', *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, VI, 1, 1968, pp. 39–54.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 50.

founding and maintaining places of education'. They thus allowed a melodramatic significance to be attached to the patronage of the *Philomousos Hetairia* by the Tsar or his minister Kapodistrias.⁶⁹ Kapodistrias afterwards denied any direct revolutionary intent, and modern historians have supported him.⁷⁰ But the use of the metaphor ('education' = 'uprising') was perhaps unhelpful: it is said that a village bey in the Peloponnese was misled by a letter from the Patriarch of Constantinople sending him money and encouraging him to 'found schools', into assuming that the latter was inviting him to revolt.⁷¹ It also renders historiographical debates about 'the intellectual origins of revolution' in the early nineteenth-century Balkans rather circular: perhaps we need to talk about intellectual activity as a euphemism or alibi for revolution, rather than a cause of it.⁷²

But not all intellectuals were faking it: a member of the *Philologike Etairia*, Dr Constantin Caracaș, was one of the owners of the first civil press in Wallachia, established in 1817. Caracaș, Radu Clinceanu and Dumitrache Topliceanu sought permission from the prince Ioan Caragea, and received it. They also applied for a licence to print newspapers, which they were refused. (Another proposal to start up a newspaper, by the Greek courtier Nicolae Mavros in 1819 seems also to have come to nothing.)⁷³ They were, however, permitted to publish works of 'philology', '*filologhică*, in other words writings concerning the love of learning'.⁷⁴ Their activity was closely followed by the prince and the divan; their function can be gauged by bearing in mind that the first work to emerge from it was the civil code named after the prince, the *Cod Caragea*, in Greek in 1817 and in Romanian in 1818.

Meanwhile, a similar operation had been established in Moldavia in 1812:

⁶⁹ Thomas Gordon, *History of the Greek Revolution* (Edinburgh, 1832), I, pp. 44–47. Gordon spent time in Bucharest as a captain on the staff in the Russian army in 1813 (*Dictionary of National Biography*, XX, London, 1890, p. 231) and can therefore be considered a first-hand source.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 50; C. M. Woodhouse, 'Kapodistrias and the Philike Etairia, 1814–1821', in Clogg (note 20), pp. 104–134.

⁷¹ N. Botzaris, *Visions balkaniques dans la préparation de la révolution grecque, 1789–1821* (Genève, 1962), p. 95.

⁷² For critiques of 'intellectual origins' as a theme in the historiography of the French revolution, see Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, translated by Lydia Cochrane (Berkeley, CA, 1991); Daniel Roche and Vincenzo Ferrone, 'L'historiographie des Lumières', in their (eds) *Le monde des Lumières* (Paris, 1999), pp. 497–522. Arguments in Greek historiography have been about 'preparedness', social, political and intellectual: see for, example, the essays by Frangos and Koumarianou in Clogg, *The Struggle* (note 20).

⁷³ As reported by von Miltitz, the secretary of the Prussian ambassador in Constantinople, in Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, X (Bucharest, 1897) p. 85.

⁷⁴ V. A. Urechia, 'Domnia lui Ioan Caragea, 1812–1818', *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile secțiunii istorice*, s, II, t. XX, 1897–1898, pp. 89–92, reproduces Prince Caragea's charter in full. Caracaș (1772–1828), a medic of Aromanian origin, had been a member of the 'Greco-Dacian Society' in 1810–1812 (N. Camariano (note 67), p. 40); he wrote an interesting *Topography of Wallachia*, published posthumously in Greek in Bucharest in 1830.

this time the press was exclusively Greek, but it performed similar functions, printing the civil code of the Prince Scarlat Calimah (a Romanian translation appeared later, in 1833). Aside from these important official works, the presses were not particularly active, and it seems clear from the divergence in languages that the considerations surrounding their establishment owed more to the personal interests of the printers and their patrons than to an analysis of what would be best for the social welfare of the Principalities themselves. They were both part of an international network of patronage—the Moldavian press had subscribers as far afield as Vienna, Smyrna and Odessa—and a token symbol of modernity serving to bolster the image of the individual princes, as can be seen by Prince Caragea of Wallachia's ceremonious donation of a copy of his law code to the University of Oxford. The Iași press printed about ten or twenty books in nine years.⁷⁵

In March 1821 a rather motley band of volunteers crossed over the river Prut from Russia into Moldavia. Their leader, Alexander Ypsilantis, son and grandson of princes of Wallachia and Moldavia, had proclamations in Greek and Romanian printed at Iași announcing the onset of an uprising of a revolt 'for Faith and Fatherland'. Thus began a chain of events leading eventually to the independence of Greece in 1830. The Principalities, however, were removed from the control of their Greek overlords. Native princes were appointed and, following yet another Russian invasion in 1828–1829, had their autonomy within the Ottoman Empire confirmed, with Russia as their protector. Modern, quasi-constitutional statutes known as 'Organic Regulations' were drawn up in St Petersburg and a new era in Romanian cultural development began, with the formal establishment under Russian auspices of Romanian-language newspapers, theatres, an organised network of public schools and a flourishing book trade.

Scholars have thus often been tempted to trace the intellectual origins of these changes in the sixty or so years before 1830. In the words of Mark Mazower, 'historians often explain why what happened had to happen'.⁷⁶ More specifically, Romanian scholars have been interested in showing that the driving forces of modern cultural development in their country have been internally traceable to an early date, and located in the fields of cultural expression more than in, say, international diplomacy or outside pressure.

The history of the Romanian book in this period does indeed provide some evidence of modernization: secularisation, interest in the investigation of na-

⁷⁵ Nestor Camariano, 'Nouvelles informations sur la création et l'activité de la typographie grecque de Jassy (1812–1821)', *Balkan Studies*, VII, 1, 1966, pp. 61–76; Elena Siupiur, 'Quelques documents militaires relatifs à la fondation de la Typographie grecque de Jassy (1812)', *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, XV, 3, 1977, pp. 509–514, shows the anxious political surveillance of the Austrian authorities.

⁷⁶ Mark Mazower, *The Balkans* (London, 2000), p. 84.

ture and rational use of material resources, a developed approach to pedagogy and linguistics. But it was an uneven road. Particularly interesting for those seeking to explain the socio-political changes of the nineteenth century is the sharp rise not just in secular publications but also in religious ones, which is particularly noticeable in the principalities in the years leading up to 1821. Exposure to more sophisticated theological writings was at least as important a trend as the import of Enlightenment ideas, a pattern matched on the manuscript level by the great increase in copying of prophetic and eschatological texts.⁷⁷ One might even talk about an eschatological attitude to enlightenment, given the often supernatural powers attributed to books by the authors of the period. In fact we do not even need to look to Elisabeth Eisenstein for a theory of print culture and modernization. As early as 1778 Bishop Chesarie of Râmnic wrote that the history of Wallachia may be divided into three epochs: one of wars, one of the building of monasteries, and one of the translation of books into the Romanian language.⁷⁸ But unlike Eisenstein, Chesarie was talking about religious literature; and while a periodization of historical development based on book production is of course attractive to intellectuals, we need to think more about what kind of books were produced and read, where this happened and, perhaps even more interesting, what was not read, if we are to give more convincing explanations of why social change took place in the nineteenth century.

⁷⁷ See Daniel Barbu, 'Loisir et pouvoir' (note 12), and the same author's 'Ecriture sur le sable: temps, histoire et eschatologie à la fin de l'ancien régime', in Al. Zub (ed.), *Temps et changement dans l'espace roumain* (Iași, 1991), pp.105–140.

⁷⁸ *Mineul pe Noemvrie* (Râmnic 1778), in *BRV*, II, p. 227.

TOWN	1771- 1775	1776- 1780	1781- 1785	1786- 1790	1791- 1795	1796- 1800	1801- 1805	1806- 1810	1811- 1815	1816- 1820	1821- 1825	1826- 1830	TOTAL
Buda		2				6	9	26	39	36	25	32	175
Czernowitz							2	3	3	2	2	-	12
Vienna	3	5	13	13	6	1	-	-	1	1	3	1	47
Lemberg				1	3		1	-	-	-	-	3	8
Hagenau							-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Sibiu	1		2	8	13	11	20	21	7	11	6	31	131
Blaj	8	12	8	6	7	5	15	11	9	6	3	2	92
Braşov	1						4	9	61	3	4	3	31
Oradea							-	-	-	1	3	4	8
Cluj							1	-	-	1	1	-	3
Baia		1											1
Timişoara				1									1
Arad							-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Bucuresti	7	11	10	2	7	8	3	6	-	21	24	52	151
Râmnic	1	17	17	7	7		-	1	5	6	-	1	62
Buzău							-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Tîrgovişte				1									1
Iaşi	5	3	7	9	14	2	9	8	14	36	10	17	134
Movilău/Dubăsari					2	5							7
Neamţ							-	6	19	11	7	3	45
Chişinău							-	-	4	14	7	9	34
St.Petersburg							-	-	-	3	-	1	4
Unknown		1					1						2
TOTAL	26	52	57	48	59	38	65	90	108	154	95	160	952

Fig. 2. Romanian printing by place of publication, 1771–1830

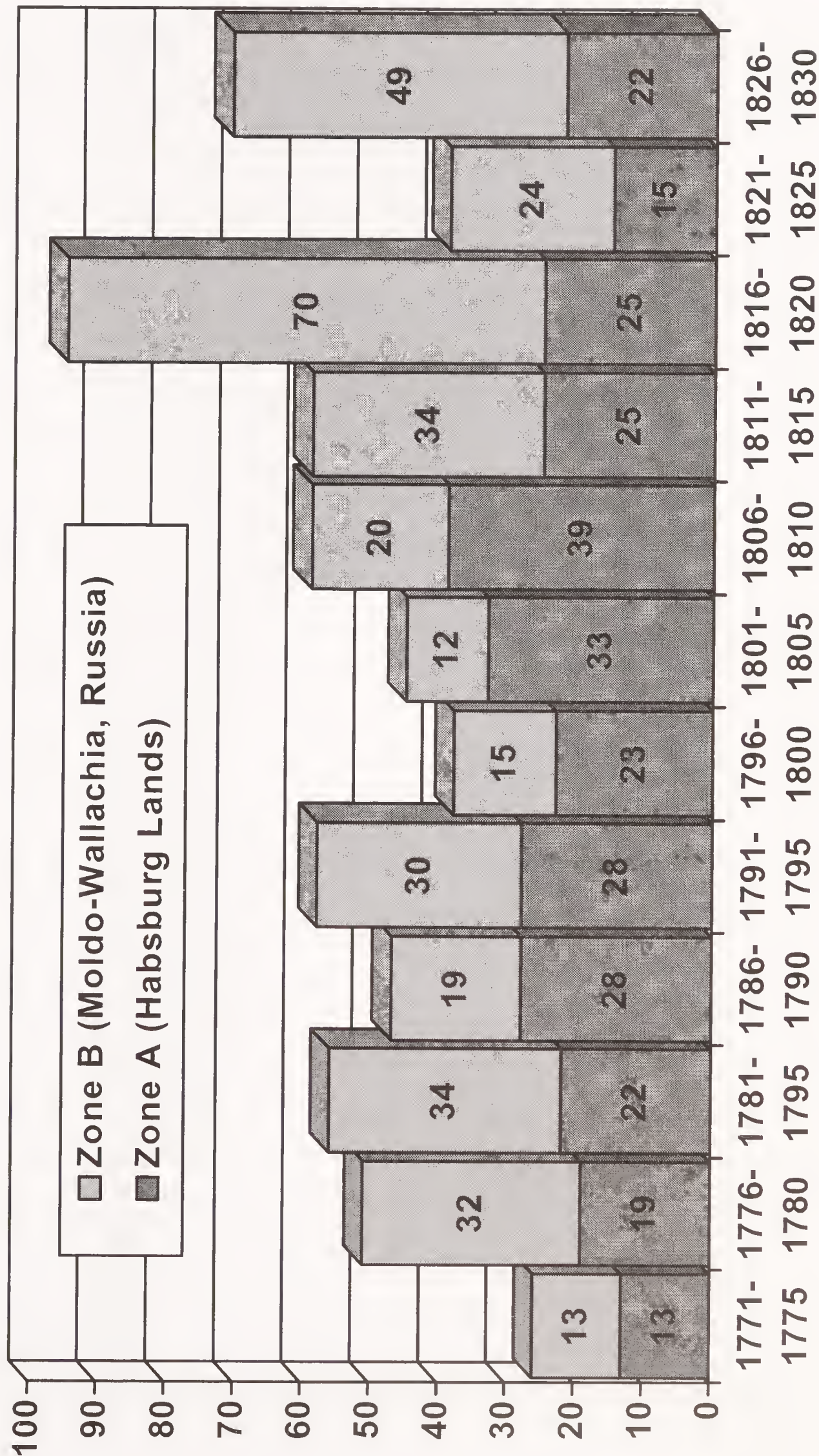


Fig. 3. Religious books by region of publication, 1771–1830

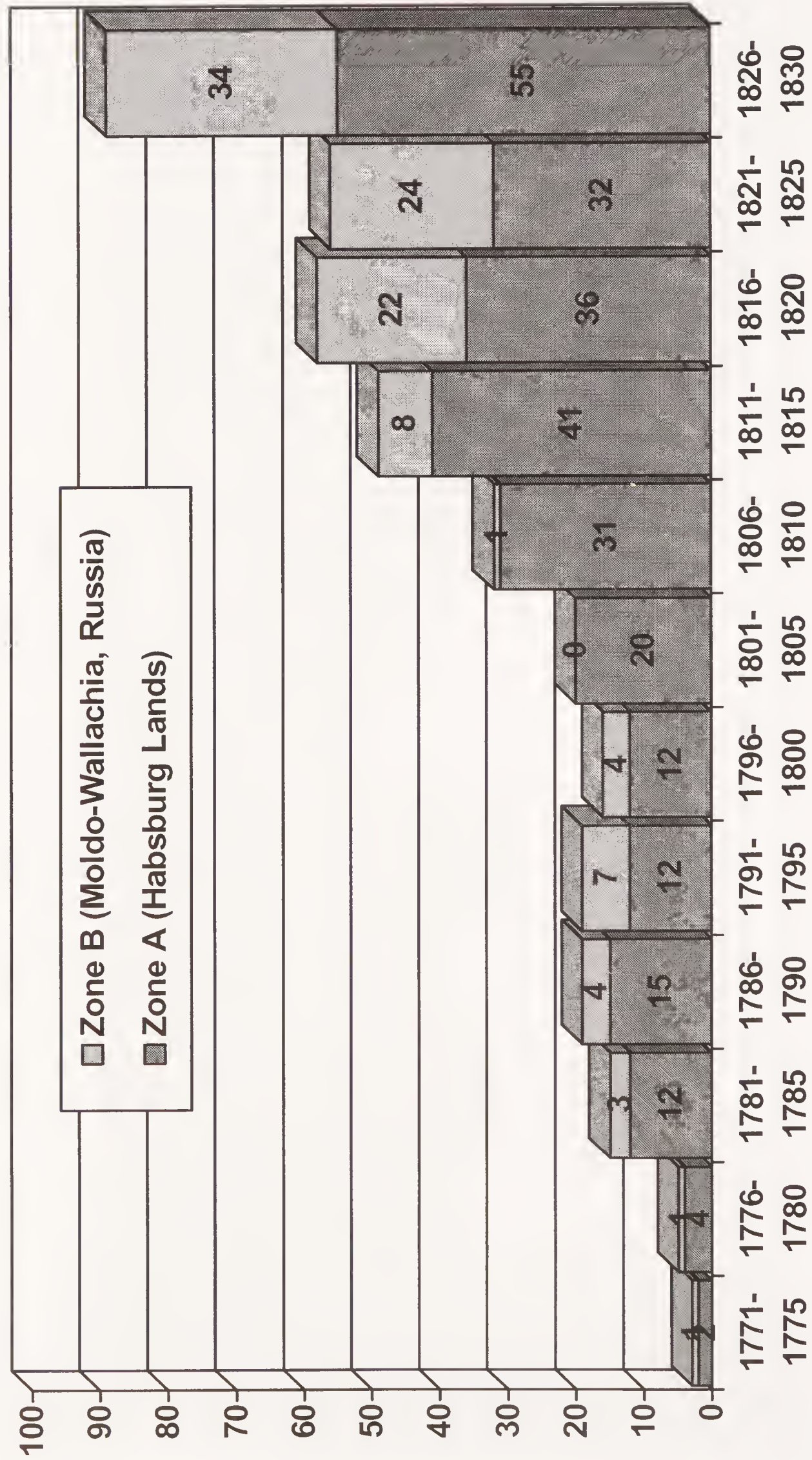


Fig. 4. Secular books by region of publication, 1771–1830

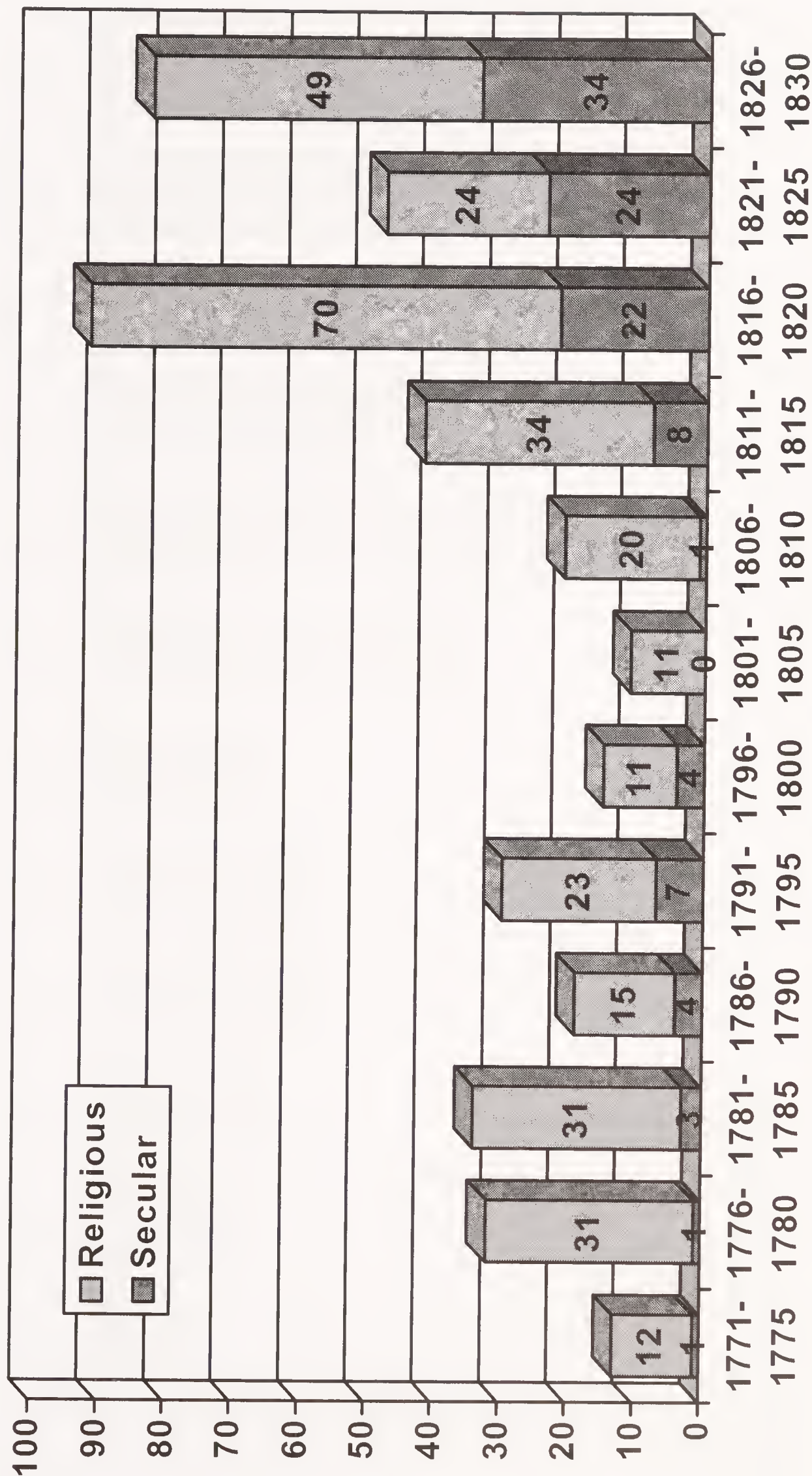


Fig. 5. Religious and secular books in the Principalities, 1771–1830

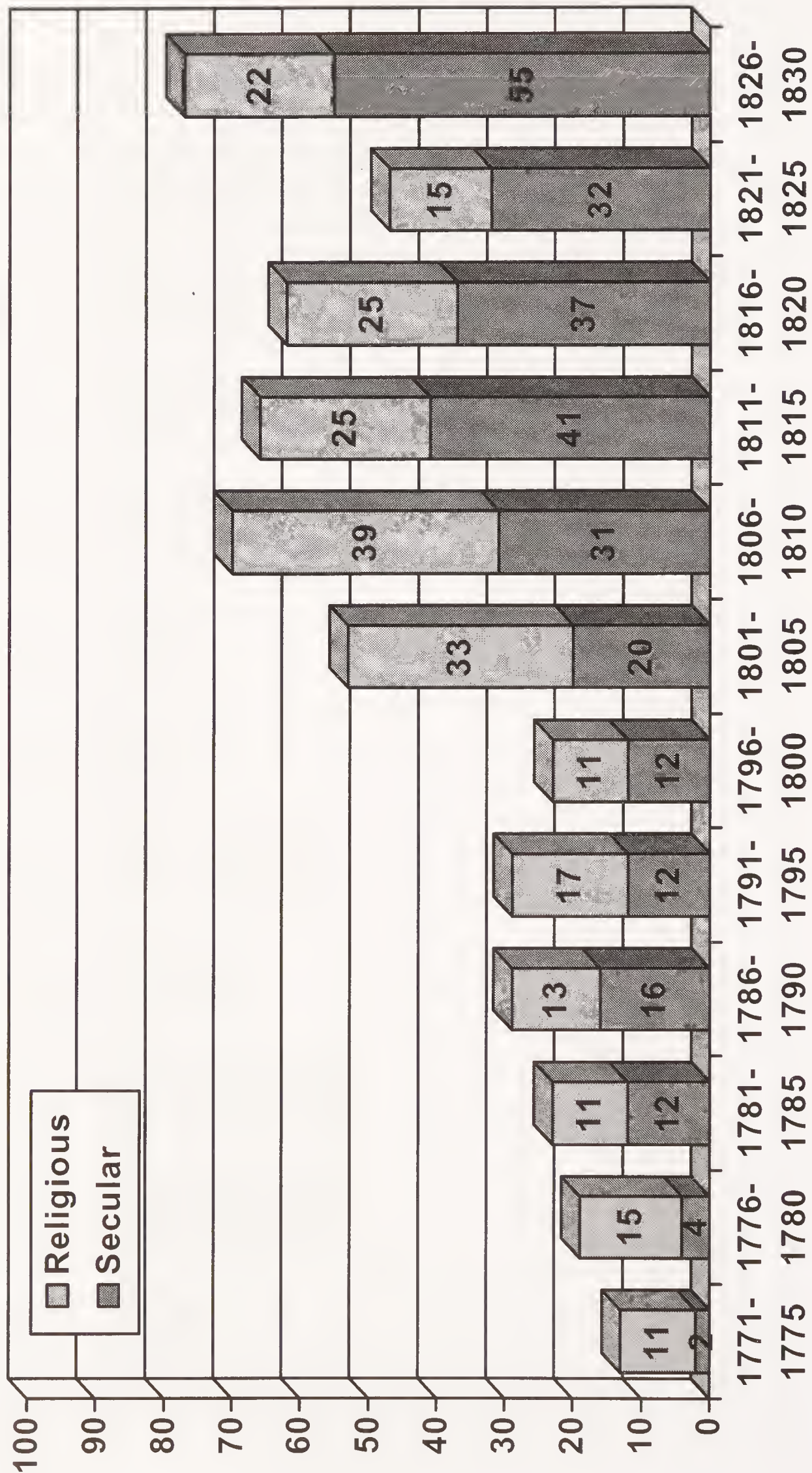


Fig. 6. Religious and secular books in the Habsburg Empire, 1771–1830

Book Losses in Russia during World War II

A. M. Mazuritskii, I. G. Matveeva and G. V. Mikheeva

The State Commission for the Restitution of Cultural Treasures, appointed in December 1992 by the Government of the Russian Federation,¹ decided at its very first meeting that work on a comprehensive catalogue of Russian cultural treasures lost in the last war should be its top priority, and that the primary goal was to draw together information about all losses suffered by museums in Russia. This decision resulted in the multi-volume 'Union Catalogue of Cultural Treasures Stolen or Lost during World War II',² which began publication in 1998.³ In 2000 the National Library of Russia, at the behest of the Ministry of Culture, began preparing a volume describing losses of Russian book collections. It became immediately obvious that this volume would need to be published over time, in several parts, as and when relevant material could be gathered and prepared, and that the first step was to attempt to provide at least a general analysis of Russian book losses, by examining the wealth of existing data, and to make generally available previously classified or uncatalogued archival material.

This article, which is based on research done in preparation of this volume, sets out: to give an account of the destruction and plundering of Russian libraries during the war and postwar attempts to assess the damage; to outline the methodology, structure and aims of the part of the Union Catalogue which is devoted to books. We would argue that the Union Catalogue project is highly relevant at the present time and not simply an attempt to sum up events from what now seem like the dim and distant past. The 'Great Patriotic War' continues to be in our minds, both in terms of the pain of our Russian losses, and because of debates about the fate of those cultural treasures of other nations (book collections included) which were brought to the former Soviet

¹ See A. M. Mazuritskii, *Knizhnye sobraniia Rossii i Germanii v kontekste restitutsionnykh protsessov* (Moscow, 2000), pp. 144–47.

² Publication of the 'Union Catalogue ...' is supervised by an editorial board led by the Deputy Minister of Culture of the Russian Federation P. V. Khoroshilov and the head of the Ministry of Culture's Department for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage A. I. Vilkov. Publication of the Catalogue would not have been possible without the careful and thorough work of a body of specialized archivists, museum curators and voluntary assistants, led from the very first steps by N. I. Nikandrov, deputy head of the Department for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage.

³ Four volumes have been published to date, some in two parts: *Svodnyi katalog kul'turnykh tsennostei pokhishchennykh i utrachennykh v period vtoroi mirovoi voiny* (Moscow, St Petersburg, Ministerstvo kul'tury Rossiiskoi Federatsii, Departament po sokhraneniui kul'turnykh tsennostei); vol. 1: *Gosudarstvennyi muzei-zapovednik 'Tsarskoe selo'. Ekaterininskii dvorets* (1999–2000), 2 pt.; vol. 2: *Gosudarstvennyi muzei-zapovednik 'Pavlovsk'. Pavlovskii dvorets* (2000), 256 pp., ill.; vol. 3: *Gosudarstvennaia Tret'iakovskaia galereia. Gosudarstvennyi Russkii muzei* (1999), 88 pp., ill.; vol. 4: *Gosudarstvennye arkhivy Rossiiskoi Federatsii. Utrachennye arkhivnye fondy* (1999), pt. 1, 336 pp., ill. Active investigations and research are underway in preparation of further volumes.

Union after the War. A modern and civilized solution of these mutual problems is unthinkable without the creation of registers of losses on both sides. It seems to us that outside Russia there is little discussion of Russian book losses, and a tendency to show interest only in German books discovered in Russia, to demonstrate the illegality of their removal and the necessity of restitution in one direction only. We would argue that such an approach can be hardly be deemed scientific or be likely to lead to constructive dialogue. Some European countries, most notably Poland, have already compiled catalogues of their book losses resulting from World War II.⁴ Their main aim is to gain international recognition of the fact that valuable book collections were plundered or lost, and so to facilitate their return. Without a comprehensive listing of Russian book losses, there can be no question of carrying out a systematic search and recovering what was lost, nor of having a civilized and reasoned discussion with other countries about the fate of displaced book collections in general.

Among the cultural sites which suffered damage in occupied areas were a huge number of libraries, resulting in the irretrievable loss of an entire layer of national cultural heritage, which can never be replaced or compensated for and the contents of which it is impossible to fully catalogue or even list. Book collections occupy a particular place in the list of cultural losses suffered by Russia in World War II. Some perished in enemy bombing. From mid-1941 the Germans began massive blanket bombing of Soviet cities and towns in the rear, and major book depositories fell victim to the air raids. When seventy incendiary bombs were dropped on the building of the Lenin State Library in the first raid on Moscow of 22 July 1941, only the selfless efforts of the librarians saved the collections. In another enemy raid, the building of the All-Union Book Chamber was severely damaged, with the loss of 14,000 volumes. On 6 August 1941 dozens of incendiary bombs fell on the Academy of Sciences Library in Leningrad. The librarians managed single-handedly to extinguish the

⁴ See, for example: C. Estreicher, *Cultural Losses of Poland: Index of Polish Cultural Losses during the German Occupation, 1939–1944* (London, 1944); *Informator o stratach bibliotek i księgozbiorów domowych na terytoriach polskich okupowanych w latach 1939–1945 (bez ziem wschodnich)*, red. nauk. B. Bienkowska (Poznań, 2000); Stanisława Sawicka, *Straty wojenne zbiorów polskich w dziedzinie rękopisów iluminowanych* (Warsaw, 1952); Maria Rutowska, *Straty osobowe i materialne kultury w Wielkopolsce w latach II wojny światowej* (Warsaw, 1984); Barbara Bienkowska, *Straty bibliotek polskich w czasie II wojny światowej* (Warsaw, 1994) and *Losses of Polish Libraries during World War II* (Warsaw, 1994); *Straty bibliotek w czasie II wojny światowej w granicach Polski z 1945 roku: wstępny raport o stanie wiedzy* (Warsaw, 1994), 2 vols; Piotr Lechowski, *Biblioteki Krakowa w okresie okupacji niemieckich 1930–1945* (Cracow, 1999). The Polish government has created an official internet site devoted to Polish losses in World War II (in Polish, English, German and French) at www.icons.pl. For Ukraine, see: *Dolia ukrains'kykh kul'turnykh tsinnosti pid chas Druhoi svitovoi viiny: vynyshchennia arkhiviv, bibliotek, muzeiv* (1991), and *Dolia kul'turnykh skarbiv Ukrainy pid chas Druhoi svitovoi viiny—arkhivy, biblioteky, muzei*, vyp. 1: *Volyń's'kyi kraieznavchyi muzei: [dokumenty]* (1996); vyp. 2: *Bibliotechni fondy Kharkova v roky Druhoi svitovoi viiny: dokumenty* (1997).

resulting fire. Successful defence against attacking enemy aircraft was not universal, however: several days before Soviet forces abandoned Rostov-on-Don, 250,000 volumes from the collections of the Regional Library were lost in an air raid.

Substantial efforts were made to evacuate the most valuable collections to the eastern regions. In July 1941 a train of eighteen wagons with books from the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library left Leningrad. Among the treasures thus evacuated were: the Ostromir Gospels, the Lavrentievskaiia Chronicle, the Rossica collections, the Voltaire and G. V. Plekhanov libraries, and other unique collections.⁵ However, despite immense efforts, the books removed from the western areas subjected to occupation were only a small proportion in comparison with the multi-million collections remaining in occupied areas. Where evacuation was impossible, librarians did their utmost to conceal the treasures prior to invasion. Precious volumes were hidden in basements, cased and buried in library yards, or distributed among library users.

The occupying forces established their 'New Order' in occupied areas.⁶ Many library buildings were billeted by field or maintenance services. Books were inevitably thrown away, used as paving or fuel—and the resulting damage should not be seen merely as part of routine war losses. Rather, the mockery of Russian national identity, the profanation of cultural heritage, and the plunder of unique treasures were part of a definite plan. The circular letter of Reichführer SS Heinrich Himmler concerning the treatment of residents in occupied areas, written in May 1940 and approved by Hitler in the form of a directive, included the following: 'For the non-German population of the east no higher school is permitted than the four-class *Volk* (or primary) school. The aim of this *Volk* school has to be exclusively: Simple calculations up to 500 at the highest, writing one's name, a precept that it is a Divine Commandment to obey Germans and to be honest, industrious and trustworthy. I do not consider reading necessary.'⁷

⁵ Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (GARF), fond 2306, op. 69, delo 3018, f. 35.

⁶ The concept of the New Order, which evolved over the years and about which there was not complete agreement among Nazi leaders is discussed at length in Robert Edward Herzstein, *When Nazi Dreams Come True: the Third Reich's Struggle over the Future of Europe after a German Victory* (London, Abacus, 1982). In Nazi propaganda it was claimed that the New Order would unify Europe and inaugurate an era of peace and prosperity. In practice, especially as regards the 'Eastern territories', it took the form of economic looting, political enslavement and the systematic stamping out of national cultures.

⁷ Cited in Russian in *Nemetsko-fashistskii okkupatsionnyi rezhim* (Moscow, 1965), p. 20, and in English in Peter Padfield, *Himmler Reichführer-SS* (London, 2001), p. 301. The German original, published in *Viertelsjahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, Jrg. 5 (1957), p. 197, reads: 'Für die nichtdeutsche Bevölkerung des Ostens darf es keine höhere Schule geben als die vierklassige Volksschule. Das Ziel dieser Volksschule hat lediglich zu sein: Einfaches Rechnen bis höchstens 500, Schreiben des Namens, eine Lehre, daß es ein göttliches Gebot ist, den Deutschen gehorsam zu sein und ehrlich, fleißig und brav zu sein. Lesen halte ich für erforderlich.'

Books were obviously unnecessary for nations deprived of reading rights; generally, the low esteem in which the Slavs were held resulted both in the wholesale and wanton destruction of library collections and in looting which was carried out with less concern for ownership and public reaction than was the case in the occupied countries of Western Europe. Cultural treasures, including library collections, were taken away for various purposes. Some were intended for Hitler's projected complex of galleries, museums and libraries in his home town Linz, which was to be Europe's cultural mecca and which he aspired to fill with collections unparalleled among world museums. To achieve this, he initiated the 'Special Linz Project' (*Sonderauftrag Linz*) led by Hans Posse, Director of the Dresden Art Gallery.⁸ In 1941 Ribbentrop initiated the appointment of the special 'Künsberg Group' attached to the German Foreign Ministry, subsequently reorganized as an SS *Sonderkommando* (special-purpose battalion). It was led by SS-Sturmbannführer Eberhard Freiherr von Künsberg and consisted of about 303 men, divided into four companies, each attached to a major army unit for the purpose of plundering diplomatic archives, museums, libraries and art treasures. The Second and Fourth Companies particularly 'distinguished themselves' on the Eastern Front, while it was the specialists from the Second Company who selected valuable books from the palace collections outside Leningrad. The Fourth Company was active in the Southern Sector. Its diverse interests were demonstrated in its senior staff list: Hauptsturmführer Wilfried Krallert (1912–1969), Foreign Ministry cartographer; Sonderführer Paulsen, Slavic scholar; Sonderführer Lieben, economist.⁹ A major part of the books selected was destined for various research institutions in Germany, but the battalion also catered for the private interests of individual officials. In March 1942 an exhibition was mounted in Berlin of material seized from the East, entitled 'Samples of assets brought to safekeeping by the Russian operation of the Special Commando-AA'.¹⁰ After the exhibition, some of the treasures were immediately dispatched to senior Reich officials. Hermann Göring received two books of fine prints, including one signed by Rubens; 59 volumes of a rare Voltaire edition went to Alfred Rosenberg; a watercolour book to Joachim Ribbentrop. Neither were Hitler or Goebbels forgotten. The former was presented with 80 books on

⁸ Documents on the Linz Project are to be found in Moscow in the Tsentral'nyi khrameniia istoriko-dokumental'nykh kollektsii (TsKhIDK), on the basis of which two of its archivists published an article: T. Vasil'eva and N. Korneliuk, 'Missiia "Lints". Tainaia kollektsiia Adol'fa Gitlera', *Sovershenno sekretno*, 1993, no. 11, pp. 21–22. See also: Jonathan Petropoulos, *Art as Politics in the Third Reich* (Chapel Hill and London, University of North Carolina Press, 1996), esp. pp. 90, 91 and 253, 254.

⁹ Rossiiskii tsentr khraneniia i izucheniia dokumentov noveishei istorii (RTsKhIDNI), fond 5, op. 6, delo 329, f. 12. See also: Ulrike Hartung, *Raubzüge in der Sowjetunion: das Sonderkommando KÜNSBERG 1941–1943* (Bremen, 1997).

¹⁰ See Hartung (note 9), pp. 95, 96.

Napoleon's Egyptian campaign, and the latter with a 1759 newspaper collection.¹¹ In November 1942 Künsberg wrote to the Soviet Ambassador Graf Friedrich Werner von der Schulenburg offering him 100 choice volumes from the library at Pavlovsk.¹²

The Künsberg battalion was given special instructions for dealing with library collections: publications of a propagandistic nature were to be destroyed or referred to the propaganda department; economic publications were to be passed to the intelligence agencies; early printed books, manuscripts, books of unique character and research value were to be dispatched to Germany.¹³ Active-service battalion staff operated in the field. As soon as a particular area had been captured, books were surveyed along with other cultural objects. After appropriate inspection, the most valuable items were removed to Germany.

However, the main book streams westwards were channelled by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg or ERR (the Rosenberg Special Command)¹⁴ in the charge of Alfred Rosenberg (1893–1946), who had been born in Reval and educated there and later in Moscow, and became, in 1941, Minister of the Reich for Occupied Eastern Territories. In fact, there were tensions between the ERR and the Künsberg Group since, although the Künsberg's Group's main task was to remove from Leningrad, Moscow and other towns documents of a political nature, Künsberg himself was inclined towards a broader understanding of his mission.¹⁵

The scope of the ERR's responsibilities was established in 1940. In Field-Marshal General Wilhelm Keitel's Order of 5 July to German army commanders in occupied European countries it was pointed out that: 'Reichsleiter Rosenberg applied to the Führer for permission to verify the presence: 1) in state libraries and archives of books and manuscripts of value to Germany; 2) in the offices of higher ecclesiastical authorities and Masonic lodges of political documents directed against us. The Reichsleiter also applied for permission to confiscate such materials. The Führer accepted this proposal.'¹⁶ Hitler's decree empowered the ERR as follows: 'His [Rosenberg's] Einsatzstab

¹¹ *Sovershenno sekretno*, 1994, no. 11, p. 10.

¹² See Hartung (note 9), plate 30 (p. 88).

¹³ *Voennye trofei*, 1996, no. 2, pp. 46–47.

¹⁴ For a concise account of the objectives and organisation of the ERR, see: Willem de Vries, *Sonderstab Musik: Music Confiscations by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg under the Nazi Occupation of Western Europe* (Amsterdam University Press, 1996), pp. 30–33, and on its activities in Western Europe, pp. 85–117. There is also a clear account in Donald E. Collins and Herbert P. Rothfeder, 'The Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg and the Looting of Jewish and Masonic Libraries during World War II', *Journal of Library History*, vol. 18, no. 1 (Winter 1983), pp. 1–36. Especially good on activities in Eastern Europe: *Kartoteka 'Z': tsennosti kul'tury na okkupirovannykh territoriiakh Rossii, Ukrainy i Belorussii 1941–1942* (Moscow, 1998), pp. 10–31.

¹⁵ *Kartoteka 'Z'* (note 14), p. 22. See also the chapter 'Sonderkommando Künsberg und Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg' in Hartung (note 9), pp. 53–57.

¹⁶ R. Zeidevits and M. Zeidevits, *Dama s gornostaem* (Moscow, 1966), p. 38.

for occupied areas is entitled to inspect libraries, archives and other cultural establishments of all kinds, and to confiscate them for the purpose of fulfilling the tasks of the National Socialist Party.¹⁷ The books which were looted on a vast scale from occupied areas were intended for the collections of the 'Ostbücherei' (Eastern Library) in Berlin, a deposit library for material in support of research into the Eastern provinces.¹⁸ Selection policies encompassed pre-1917 publications on Marxism, philosophy, freemasonry, the Jewish question, and books on Russian geography, history and art. Of special interest were post-1917 publications supporting Soviet studies. Also selected for the Eastern Library were translations of 'significant works in the humanities containing Bolshevik introductions'.¹⁹ Some books were earmarked for the library of the National Socialist Party (NSDAP) Higher School, the elite 'party university', and publications on appropriate subjects were given to the Imperial Security Service (Reichssicherheitshauptamt), the German Foreign Ministry's Geographical Office, and the Economic Library.²⁰ Among the 350 professional specialists in the Rosenberg Staff were experts in art and book studies, and archivists. A special support group was assigned to each. Their work involved careful selection, registration and classification of confiscated property. Special emphasis was placed on the inspection of library collections in captured urban areas. The ERR catalogued (both by author/name and subject) books which had been selected. Up to eight cards were provided for each book. Some of the cards were sent to Berlin and Kiev, others were used as local catalogues. In this way records were provided for each book confiscated. Large-scale cataloguing was undertaken by one of the ERR's bases, in Riga, where records were made for the collections destined for the Ostbücherei. Presumably, at this initial stage, these collections were concentrated in Kiev, Riga and Berlin.

For the collection of information on works of art, including books, the ERR had various specialized departments: use, press and propaganda, registration and control, storage, operations, as well as special sections for science and art. Confiscated books were handled by almost all departments. First, they were examined with a view to establishing what their use should be. Then the books selected were sorted by the registration and control, the propaganda and the storage departments. The sorting process divided them according to their

¹⁷ TsKhIDK, fond 1401, op. 1, delo 5, ff. 31, 32, 45.

¹⁸ In summer 1943, after Western bombing of Berlin had started, the Ostbücherei was transferred to the Silesian city of Ratibor (Racibórz). See Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire: the Archival Heritage of Ukraine, World War II, and the International Politics of Restitution* (Cambridge, Mass., distributed by Harvard University Press for the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 2001), p. 318.

¹⁹ GARF, fond 7901, op. 1, delo 111, ff. 30–31.

²⁰ Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchikh orhaniv vlady ta upravlinnia Ukraïny (TsDAVO), fond 3676, op. 2, delo 1, ff. 43–46, 55–59v.

future use, i.e. for propaganda, deposit in the Linz Museum or in the Ostbücherei. Those remaining were used to form the so-called 'central' libraries, which received the collections of small libraries from towns or adjacent settlements.²¹

So long as the situation at the front remained more or less stable for Germany, book displacement was comparatively limited. Massive displacement was initiated in the period when the situation at the front changed dramatically for the worse. Then almost anything removable was sent to Germany, the rest destroyed. In October 1943 a communiqué was sent to Berlin about the urgent need to evacuate the library of Count Vorontsov at Alupka because of 'probable catastrophe—the loss by the Wehrmacht of the Crimea'.²² Members of the ERR reported cancelling their operations in Smolensk and Mohilev because of the approaching Red Army, and accelerating book displacement because both towns were to be blown up by retreating German forces.²³ A similar message came from the Rostov group. They complained about the difficulty of moving books from Rostov because 'German forces were blowing up the town as they retreated'.²⁴

The main routes for the transportation of books were through the Baltic and Eastern Prussia, and from there, where possible, further into Germany. On the territory under Reich jurisdiction, there were designated collection points for cultural treasures sent out from the USSR.²⁵ Library collections were generally taken to Bonheim Kempten monastery, to Höchstädt an der Donau, to an unnamed Bavarian Lowlands monastery, to Colmberg Castle, Banz Monastery, or Neuschwanstein (Bavaria).

The 'Extraordinary State Commission for the Determination and Investigation of Crimes Committed by the German Fascist Aggressors' (Chrezvychainaia gosudarstvennaia komissiia po ustanovleniiu i rassledovaniuu zlodeianii nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatnikov) was appointed as early as 2 November 1942. Among its tasks was the investigation of the damage caused by the Nazis to national culture. The Commission's meeting of 9 September 1943 appointed a bureau of expertise, which included the Chief Librarian of the Lenin State Library D. N. Chaushanskii (1896–1957), the book historian I. G. Agal'tsev and the bibliographer I. M. Kaufman (1887 or 1892–1971).²⁶ Among other findings, the Commission established that the Nazis had destroyed or plundered 605 research institutes with libraries, and 43,000

²¹ A. M. Mazuritskii, *Ocherki istorii bibliotechnogo dela perioda Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny, 1941–1945* (Moscow, 1995), p. 121.

²² TsDAVO, fond 3696, op. 1, delo 51, ff. 8–9.

²³ TsDAVO, fond 3696, op. 1, delo 144, ff. 248v., 255.

²⁴ TsDAVO, fond 3696, op. 2, delo 31, ff. 26–30.

²⁵ GARF, fond A 659, op. 2, delo 50, f. 1.

²⁶ GARF, fond 534–A, op. 2, delo 1, f. 17.

libraries of all types. It estimated the losses of public libraries at over 100 million volumes. (More recently, figures have been published which indicate over 200 million books destroyed in libraries in the USSR.²⁷ What share of these were from libraries in the Russian Federation is yet to be determined.) The collection of information was extremely difficult because the Nazis had either removed or destroyed library catalogues. Thus all information about prewar holdings disappeared. Not all authorities which had libraries under their jurisdiction submitted clear and timely information to the Commission, and without reliable and precise information it was impossible to know what had been removed or destroyed by the occupying forces. Records registering library losses summarised them in one 'removed and destroyed' category. This served us ill when the question arose of trying to find lost book collections in Germany.

On the basis of some regional statistics we will attempt to give a picture of the state of libraries after the Nazi retreat.

- Irrecoverable damage was caused to palace libraries outside St Petersburg—Pushkin, Pavlovsk, Petrodvorets and Gatchina.
- Book collections in Stalingrad and in ten districts of the Stalingrad Region which were under occupation perished in their entirety, and 181 library buildings were destroyed, among them the Gorky Regional Library which held 250,000 items in the central building and 105,000 in Oktiabrsky Region libraries and reading clubs.²⁸
- In Orel Region, occupying forces destroyed or damaged 115 library buildings; 55,000 volumes were lost by the Regional Library.²⁹
- The Bryansk Region suffered great losses. Just before the war it had 837 libraries with cumulative collections of 1 million, 160,000. Most of these were destroyed. Almost 30,000 volumes were lost by Bryansk Central City Library. The Sevsk Urban District Library, which had 18,700 books before the war, was burnt by the Germans,³⁰ and Sevsk citizens managed to save only 6000 volumes. The prewar library collections of the town of Starodub numbered 170,000 volumes, 18,620 copies of pre-1917 periodicals, 387 local history publications; of these, 10,000 volumes were removed to Germany, and the rest burnt.³¹ In the town of Unecha 35,000 volumes were destroyed. In Trubchevsk German soldiers quartered there used books as fuel to warm themselves against the frosts.
- The Moscow Region had 17 of its districts totally occupied and 10 partially occupied in late 1941. There were 379 libraries in the area with book

²⁷ A. Sherel', *Kochuiushchie muzy* (Moscow, 1991), pp. 5–10.

²⁸ According to data supplied by the Volgogradskaia biblioteka im. M. Gor'kogo.

²⁹ GARF, fond 2306, op. 69, delo 3129, f. 9.

³⁰ *Sevskaya pravda*, 1944, 13 January.

³¹ *Brianskii rabochii*, 1946, 1 March.

collections of 1,107,477. The 142 district and rural libraries alone held cumulative collections of 837,832 copies. Enemy forces destroyed more than 200 libraries with 578,159 books. Among them were 165 libraries in the public education system. German soldiers used library book covers to resole their boots, and the books to warm up car engines.³²

- Severe damage was inflicted on libraries in the occupied zone of the Kaluga Region. According to imperfect information, probably more than 150,000 volumes were lost, including the pre-1917 book collection of Kaluga Central Municipal (now Regional) Library.³³
- The Kalinin (Tver) Regional Library building, which had housed over 200,000 volumes before the war, was destroyed. Libraries in the town of Kalinin lost 546,000 volumes; and 60,000 volumes were lost in Rzhev Municipal Library. Before the occupation Kalinin Region had 315 libraries with collections totalling over two million volumes. By 1 January 1942 there were 183 libraries with 710,000 volumes.³⁴

The restoration of library services in Russia involved tremendous efforts and human cost. It began during the war, with libraries being reopened immediately after the liberation of each area. Work proceeded under extreme conditions, in buildings that were almost completely destroyed, with no heating, lighting, or other amenities, and with a severe shortage of books. Librarians found books in basements and ruins, torn or otherwise mutilated, and restored them. In most cases libraries had to be built up from scratch, and replacement collections were far from comparable to previous book collections in quality; new book supplies could not make good the loss of those works which had constituted the 'gold reserves' of individual regions, and which were an organic part of Russian regional culture.

Regrettably, few lost book collections were discovered in the last stages of the war or after it, although Soviet troops arriving in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Germany found some books from Soviet libraries. At the Pshina station, to the south-west of Auschwitz (Oświęcim), they discovered a train-load of 150,000 books and 100,000 journals from Novgorod, Pskov, Vitebsk and some other towns.³⁵ When fighting began on German territory, the Red Army Chief Political Administration sent two teams of librarians to draw up inventories and to safeguard all the most valuable book repositories and libraries, whether German, or displaced from the Soviet Union or elsewhere. The political authorities of the front-line Soviet forces were instructed to provide for the recording and safeguarding of all items in any libraries and book

³² *Uchrezhdeniia kul'tury Moskovskoi oblasti za 40 let* (Moscow, 1957), pp. 44–45.

³³ Data supplied by the Kaluzhskaiia oblastnaia biblioteka im. V. G. Belinskogo.

³⁴ GARF, fond 7901, op. 1, delo 154, f. 21.

³⁵ Tsentral'nyi arkhiv Ministerstva oborony Rossiiskoi Federatsii (TsAMO RF), fond 32, op. 113, delo 327, ff. 383–384.

collections which they came across. The Chief Political Administration's task forces discovered some books which had been removed from Soviet territory, particularly in the area of operations of the Fourth Ukrainian Front, where almost 1200 thousand books from Mohilev and Pskov municipal libraries were found in a warehouse in Myslowice. They were subsequently brought back to the USSR in forty railway wagons.³⁶

After the war, the Soviet Military Administration in Germany (SVAG) repeatedly formulated tasks necessary for the investigation and recovery of displaced cultural treasures, including library collections. Information for this was supplied by the Extraordinary State Commission. But the summary lists suitable for use in the Nuremberg trials were of little use in the search for specific lost treasures undertaken by Soviet experts in Germany: they provided only quantitative data about library losses, without indicating any rare or unique items. All this prevented Soviet investigative teams from carrying out systematic searches for lost book collections in the immediate postwar years.

Some Soviet library collections were discovered in the US occupation zone, and 2,341 cases of cultural treasures were transferred to the USSR on 24 October 1947. Eight wagon-loads are known to have gone to Kiev, five to Pushkin, four to Novgorod and two to Minsk.³⁷ Altogether, in the period between 1945 and 1948, thirteen railway transports went from the US occupation zone to the Soviet occupation zone, making a total of 534 120 items (more than twenty wagonloads).³⁸ Among them were 100,000 volumes discovered in Offenbach, mainly from Belarusian and Ukrainian libraries.³⁹

A great deal remains to be done to find all documents relevant to the return of Russian books from Germany. Unfortunately, the data on Russian book losses collected by the Extraordinary Commission was never amended in the light of postwar finds. We cannot rule out the possibility that some publications, either through deliberate actions or accidentally, did not reach their former owners. The process of investigation and recovery of cultural treasures suffered from significant organizational drawbacks. Besides, there was often nowhere to return books, if their home libraries had been completely destroyed or were being rebuilt at the time. In such cases books were distributed among libraries in more favourable circumstances, which were in a state to accept the books. For all these reasons and because of the remoteness of events, it has to be said that a complete listing of our book losses is now impossible.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ *Kommersant Deili*, 1997, 10 April.

³⁸ *Voennye trofei*, 1998, no. 4, p. 111.

³⁹ See Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, 'Gestures of Goodwill and the Unfinished Business of Post-World War Restitution', paper written for a seminar held at the Rudomino Library for Foreign Literature in April 2001 (at <http://www.libfl.ru/restitution/conf01/grimsted-e.html>). This topic is also discussed in Grimsted (note 18), pp. 216–29.

The volume of the 'Union Catalogue' being prepared by the National Library of Russia attempts to draw together for the first time documentary evidence of Russian printed books lost during World War II. The first part of this volume covers six areas subject to occupation: the regions of Voronezh, Kursk, Pskov, Rostov, North Caucasus, and Smolensk.⁴⁰ Material in the catalogue is arranged alphabetically by region, territory and area, based on the administrative and territorial division of the RSFSR as it was in May 1945. (The country's administrative and territorial division was repeatedly modified even during the War, and particularly in the post-war period.)

Each section begins with an introductory article about libraries in the region during World War II, detailing actions undertaken by the occupying powers and their various units for the destruction and removal of books from specific libraries and museums (based on both printed and archival sources, as well as information supplied by librarians or local studies specialists). This is followed by lists of lost books, arranged in two chronological sequences, one of books in Cyrillic script and one of books in foreign European languages.⁴¹

These were compiled on the basis of information found in captured German archives, primarily those of the ERR, which lists displaced book treasures region by region,⁴² and on data supplied by the regions. In cases where contributing institutions were able to supply identifying marks, such as bookplates, labels, stamps, or other marks of ownership, these were reproduced immediately after the introductory article and before the listings. Here, it must be said that initial lists supplied by the various regions contain fragmentary data with numerous errors and misprints, foreign-language titles often translated into Russian and author names distorted. During the time of military action or of reconstruction work in devastated areas precise recording was inconceivable. This largely explains why there is still neither a comprehensive summary of losses nor lists of the losses of individual institutions. Therefore, almost no bibliographically correct lists of losses are available anywhere to date.

For these reasons it was necessary for the National Library of Russia team to carry out careful and complex research for bibliographic identification and improvement of the rough data on editions lost in individual areas. They utilized

⁴⁰ Work is currently under way on the second and third issues of this volume, representing irreplaceable losses in the unique palace libraries of the Leningrad Region and Novgorod libraries.

⁴¹ Although manuscripts are out of scope for the present volume, because some data on manuscripts was supplied by some libraries the compilers decided to include it in preliminary form at the end of each section, in the hope that even vague information might promote subsequent research and the identification of lost manuscripts.

⁴² Data on the activities of the ERR were placed at the disposal of the Otdel restitutsii of the Ministry of Culture by the research team of A. P. Nikitin, M. V. Sinaiskii and L. V. Mazurova. In 1994 the Rosarkhiv archivists A. P. Nikitin and E. S. Kuz'mina compiled 'Annotirovannyi perechen' dokumentov Shtaba Rozenberga', which is kept in manuscript form in the Ministry of Culture.

a wide range of reference tools and other publications: catalogues, card files and collections of the National Library of Russia, national bibliographies, subject and departmental reference works and bibliographies. Internet searches in the databases of libraries in all continents provided data on specific editions; particularly useful were the catalogues of member libraries of the Consortium of European Research Libraries. In the final stage of work, all the bibliographically improved and classified lists were forwarded to the initiating libraries. It was only after they had checked and confirmed that any given item was actually lost during the war that its bibliographic record was included in the Catalogue. The record includes all the details of specific editions lost in each library: any information on fingerprints, inventory numbers, bindings. It is this kind of information that would be invaluable for the precise identification of each lost copy. Sophisticated bibliographic research resulted in the identification of the overwhelming majority of lost publications. For some areas the list is almost complete. On the other hand, in some cases initial data were insufficient for the conclusive identification of an edition. Such cases are listed at the end of each list of losses in a section entitled 'Not identified bibliographically'. In some cases, the publication even of incomplete or imperfect information may lead to further research and over time to the possible identification of lost book treasures. Lists for each area are supplemented with illustrations of specific lost editions. The illustrations (provided only in cases where editions had been conclusively identified as having been lost by libraries) were reproduced from items in the collections of the National Library of Russia. It was impossible to provide illustrations of all items, partly because of restrictions of space, but also, significantly, because even the National Library of Russia's collections lack a significant proportion of publications lost in the occupied areas. This testifies to the importance and irrevocable nature of regional book losses in Russia.

This volume of the Union Catalogue marks the beginning of a new stage in the process of attempting to identify book losses from the Soviet Union—a move from the compilation of generalized data to the identification of and search for specific lost editions. It is our hope that the publication of this Catalogue will not be met with indifference on the part of librarians in Russia, either those from regions which suffered losses or from those which did not suffer occupation. Some may possess information on lost books or may have in their libraries duplicates of publications lost by other libraries, from which hard-copy reproductions, electronic versions or CD ROMs could be made. We would also like to invite our foreign colleagues to participate in constructive dialogue. War inevitably has devastating consequences for libraries and their treasures. Co-operation must therefore be the cornerstone of any attempts to mitigate its effects.

Translated from Russian

Twice Plundered, but Still Not Home from the War: The Fate of Three Slavic Libraries Confiscated by the Nazis from Paris ¹

Patricia Kennedy Grimsted

Public confirmation of over seven linear kilometers of captured French records in Moscow, including those of the security services, such as the Deuxième Bureau and the Sûreté Nationale, came first in the fall of 1991. Plundered first by the Nazis and then by the Soviets at the end of the Second World War, they were held in what was then the top-secret 'Special Archive' in Moscow—TsGOA (Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi osobyi arkhiv). A week after the publication of an interview with me in a Moscow newspaper at the beginning of October, the director of the archive confirmed the findings of the 'well-known "archival spy" Grimsted'. I was not permitted in the archive for another two years.² Ten years later, most of the archives of French provenance have since come home to France, including vast documentation from French Masonic and Jewish collections—the latest batch in the fall of 2000, following a decade

¹ A French version of this essay was presented as a lecture at the Institut des Études Slaves in Paris, 3 October 2001. Some of the data presented here are drawn from my book, *Trophies of War and Empire: the Archival Heritage of Ukraine, World War II, and the International Politics of Restitution* (Cambridge, MA, distributed by Harvard University Press for the Ukrainian Research Institute, 2001). For an update on Russian restitution issues, see my article 'Russia's Trophy Archives: Still Prisoners of World War II?' published by the Open Society Archive (Central European University), Budapest, February 2002—Electronic version (downloadable in English and Russian): <http://www.osa.ceu.hu/publications/2002/RussianTrophyArchives.html>. A full bibliography of my publications regarding displaced cultural treasures (some with links to the full texts) is now available on the website of the International Institute of Social History (IISH/IISG) (Amsterdam): http://www.iisg.nl/archives_in_russia/bibliography.html.

² Evgenii Kuz'min, 'Vyvezti ... unichtozhit' ... spriatat' ... Sud'by trofeinykh arkhivov' (interview with P. K. Grimsted), *Literaturnaia gazeta*, no. 39 (2 October 1991), p. 13; publication of that interview was delayed for almost a year and was permitted in print only after August 1991. A week after the interview with me, TsGOA director Anatolii Prokopenko confirmed the holdings, in the article by Ella Maksimova, 'Arkhivy Frantsuzskoi razvedki skryvali na Leningradskom shosse', *Izvestiia*, no. 240 (9 October 1991). When Maksimova had revealed a year earlier the Nazi records held in TsGOA there was no mention of the foreign holdings. See Maksimova, 'Piat dnei v Osobom arkhive', *Izvestiia*, nos. 49–53 (18–22 February 1990), based on an interview with TsGOA director Anatolii S. Prokopenko. See also Prokopenko's own article, 'Dom osobogo naznacheniiia (Otkrytie arkhivov)', *Rodina*, 1992, no. 3, pp. 50–51.

of arduous negotiations.³ A few fonds⁴ of French provenance remain in the former Special Archive (now part of the Russian State Military Archive—RGVA, Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi voennyi arkhiv) in Moscow, but most of those from France held in other Russian archives have not even been identified.⁵ Nor have most of the twice-plundered books from French collections that were seized at the same time and are now scattered in Russia and Belarus. Only since the collapse of the Soviet Union can we begin to explore their fate.

Here we focus on the fate of three Slavic libraries from Paris that were confiscated by the Nazis at the beginning of the Second World War and then plundered a second time afterwards and taken to the Soviet Union. These three libraries are but microcosmic examples of the vast European cultural heritage displaced during the war and the many still fugitive or ‘trophy’ (as dubbed in Russian) books and archives in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe that have yet to be identified and returned to their prewar homes. New revelations about their odysseys provide insight into the patterns of wartime plunder, postwar counter-plunder, and dispersal, and help explain why more books have still not come home from the war. The tragic fate of these Slavic libraries in Paris also raises important questions about the relationship of émigré cultural centers in the diaspora to the homeland and the legal status of ‘Rossica’, ‘Ucrainica’, and ‘Polonica’ abroad.

³ An earlier transfer took place in February 2000. Regarding the return of the Masonic archives, see Pierre Mollier, ‘Paris–Berlin–Moscou: les archives retrouvées’, *L’Histoire*, no. 256 (July–August 2001), pp. 78–81, and Grimsted (interview by Pierre Mollier), ‘Les prises de guerre de l’Armée rouge: témoignage de Patricia Kennedy Grimsted’, *ibid.*, pp. 84–85. Regarding the 1994 restitution transfers, see Claire Sibille, ‘Les Archives du ministère de la Guerre récupérées de Russie’, *Gazette des Archives*, 176 (1997), pp. 64–77; Dominique Devaus, ‘Les Archives de la direction de la Sûreté rapatriées de Russie’, *ibid.*, pp. 78–86; and Sophie Coeuré, Frédéric Monier and Gérard Naud, ‘Le retour de Russie des archives françaises: le cas du fond de la Sûreté’, *Vingtième siècle*, 45 (January–March 1995), pp. 133–39. Liechtenstein (July 1997), Great Britain (July 1998) and The Netherlands (2001 in part) are the first three other countries to have received their archives from Moscow since 1991. The Rothschild family received the remainder of their archives from RGVA in November 2001. The transfer of archives to Belgium took place in May 2002.

⁴ The archival term *fond* has been anglicized, since there is no exact translation. The term came to the Soviet Union from the French *fonds*, but not without some change of usage. In Russian a *fond* is an integral group of records or a collection from a single office or source. American archivists might prefer the more technical term ‘record group’, which in British usage would normally be ‘archive group’, but the Russian usage of the term is much more extensive, as a *fond* can designate personal papers and/or collections as well as groups of institutional records.

⁵ For background on displaced European archives in Russia see my article ‘Russia’s “Trophy” Archives—Still Prisoners of World War II?’ and other writings listed in the bibliography in note 1. See also report presented at the IISH September 2001 seminar on the website http://www.iisg.nl/archives_in_russia/index.html. For more information about the former Special Archive (now part of RGVA), see *Archives of Russia: A Directory and Bibliographic Guide to Holdings in Moscow and St Petersburg*, English edition edited by Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, introduction by Vladimir Petrovich Kozlov (Armonk, NY, London, M. E. Sharpe, 2000), vol. 1, pp. 225–30, with bibliographic updates on the ArcheoBiblioBase website at <http://www.iisg.nl/~abb>.

A Colloquium in Paris in January 2001 honored the 125th anniversary of the Turgenev Library, which was established on the initiative of the Russian revolutionary German A. Lopatin, and with the support of Ivan Turgenev and a circle of liberal colleagues then enjoying refuge in the French capital. It served generations of Russian exiles and émigrés in Paris, including Vladimir Lenin before the 1917 revolutions and Pavel Miliukov afterwards.⁶ A few months after the German invasion in 1940, the entire library was confiscated and shipped to Germany. After its prewar holdings fell into Soviet hands in 1945, part of them were destroyed and the rest widely dispersed throughout the former USSR. Only recently are Russian librarians willing to admit to and identify the books with Turgenev Library stamps they received after the war as part of the vast echelons that brought an estimated eleven million 'trophy' books to the Soviet Union. By the time of the 2001 Colloquium, however, only a single book had come home to Paris from Russia.

A Ukrainian Library was founded in 1927 as a memorial to Symon Petliura after his assassination in Paris on 26 May 1926 (with Soviet complicity still assumed by many), and served as a Ukrainian political and cultural center between the wars. The Library also housed the editorial offices of the journal *Tryzub* that Petliura had founded a year before his death. Like its larger Russian counterpart, the library and its archival holdings were plundered—first by the Nazis and then by the Soviets. In contrast to Soviet vilification of Petliura, the seventieth anniversary of his assassination was commemorated in now independent Ukraine for which Petliura had sacrificed his life.⁷ But not even the editors of anniversary publications were aware that some of the books and archives plundered by the Nazis from the library founded in Paris in Petliura's honor are now widely dispersed in Moscow, Minsk, and Kyiv.⁸ None have re-

⁶ My major study of the fate of the Turgenev Library during and after the war will soon be published as an IISH Research Paper: Grimsted, *The Odyssey of the Turgenev Library from Paris, 1940–2002* (Amsterdam: International Institute of Social History, forthcoming). A French translation is planned. A summary version presented at the 125th Anniversary Colloquium in Paris (January 2001) will appear with the proceedings. See the newspaper report by Ivan Tolstoi, 'Ot mifov k podlinnoi istorii', *Russkaia mysl'*, no. 4350 (25–31 January 2001), p. 13. There is a collection of articles on the library's history with some additional bibliography in the centenary publication, *Russkaia obshchestvennaia biblioteka imeni I. S. Turgeneva. Sotrudniki–Druz'ia–Pochitateli: sbornik statei* (Paris, 1987).

⁷ Two documentary publications appeared in Kyiv, appropriately in collaboration with the Petliura Ukrainian Library in Paris: Vasyl' Mykhal'chuk, ed., *Symon Petliura ta ioho rodyna: do 70-richchia ioho trahichnoi zahybeli: dokumenty i materialy* (Kyiv, 1996); and Vasyl' Mykhal'chuk and Dmytro Stepovyk, eds., *U 70-richchia paryz'koï trahedii, 1926–1996: zbirnyk pam'iaty Symona Petliury* (Kyiv, 1997).

⁸ See Grimsted, 'The Odyssey of the Petliura Library from Paris and the Records of the Ukrainian National Republic during World War II', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 22 (1998 [2000]), pp. 181–208, in *Cultures and Nations of Central and Eastern Europe: Essays in Honor of Roman Szporluk*, ed. Zvi Gitelman et al., and 'The Postwar Fate of the Petliura Library and the Records of the Ukrainian National Republic', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 21 (1997 [2001]), 393–461. Regard-

turned to Paris except a serial run that was found in Austria at the end of the war.

The oldest of the three, the Polish Library, was established in 1838 by leaders of the 'Great Emigration', including Prince Adam Czartoryski, following the suppression of the 1831 Polish uprising in Russian-occupied Poland. The Library was moved to its present elegant building on the Quai d'Orléans in 1853, a decade before the suppression of another Polish uprising (1863) brought more Polish exiles and émigrés to the French capital. Enriched by successive generations with rare Polish books and manuscripts, the Library, together with the associated Mickiewicz Museum, developed as a major Polish cultural center in Paris, preserving many important treasures exiled from the homeland. Library devotees managed to evacuate some of those treasures and catalogues on the eve of the German invasion. But in 1940 even before its Russian and Ukrainian sister institutions, the rest (over 130,000 volumes) was confiscated *in toto* by the Nazi invaders.⁹ Part ended up in Silesia at the end of the war, was recovered by Polish authorities, and then approximately 45,000 volumes were returned to Paris from Warsaw in 1947. Recently opened documentation shows that an even larger part was found by the Soviets in Saxony and transferred to Moscow. A large part of those books were 'returned' to Poland in the 1950s, but those materials still remain in Warsaw. Nevertheless, the Polish Library is the only one of the three to which a significant quantity of books (approximately one-third) has come home from the war.

Identification of the provenance of archives and library collections seized and transferred to the Soviet Union after the Second World War is complicated by the fact that almost all of the non-German captured books and archives,

ing the history of the library, see Arkady Joukovsky, 'The Symon Petliura Ukrainian Library in Paris', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 14, no. 1/2 (June 1990), pp. 218–35, and the Ukrainian version, 'Ukrains'ka biblioteka imeni Symona Petliury v Paryzhi', *Ukrains'kyi arkhheohrafichnyi shchorychnyk*, n.s., 1 (1992), pp. 439–41. See also the memoir account of a former director, Vasył Mykhal'chuk, *Ukrains'ka biblioteka im. Symona Petliury v Paryzhi: Zasnyuvannia, rozvytok, diial'nist' (1926–1998)* (Kyiv, Vyd-vo imeni Oleny Telhy, 1999).

⁹ The fate of the Polish Library deserves a separate study. For the history of the library, see Franciszek Puławski, *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu, w latach 1893–1948* (Paris, 1948), and a shorter French version by Irena Gałęzowska, *Bibliothèque Polonaise de Paris, 1839–1939* (Paris, 1946). Puławski relates many details about the wartime odyssey and postwar attempts at retrieval. I am grateful to Marek Franczkowski in Paris for sending me several accounts of wartime and postwar developments, including a couple of unpublished reports by Puławski. See also Waldemar Rolbiecki, 'Polska stacja naukowa w Paryżu w latach 1939–1978', in Danuta Rederowa, Bohdan Jacewski and Waldemar Rolbiecki, *Polska stacja naukowa w Paryżu w latach 1893–1978* (Wrocław, ZNiO, 1982), Monografie z dziejów nauki i techniki, vol. CXXVI; Ewa Markiewicz, *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu i jej zbiory* (Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, 1994/1995); and *Przewodnik po zespołach rękopisów Towarzystwa Historyczno-Literackiego i Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu*, compiled by Maria Wrede, Marek P. Prokop and Janusz Pezda (Paris/Warsaw, 2000). A series of separate catalogues cover many of the manuscript holdings: *Katalog rękopisów Towarzystwa Historyczno-Literackiego i Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu*, vols 1–2, 4–7 (Paris/Warsaw, 1939–1996).

with the exception of those from Eastern Europe, were first plundered by various Nazi agencies at the beginning of the war. Confiscated from declared political and ideological ‘enemies’ of the Nazi regime, they were seized a second time by Soviet authorities at the end of the war, when Lavrentii Beria and his security agents wanted the books and archives to help rout out and study the ‘enemies’ of the Soviet regime. And so the three Paris libraries were twice plundered, or as many prefer to call them (particularly in Russia) ‘twice saved’. Analysis of these complexes of looted materials and identification of the specific Nazi and Soviet agencies responsible for their plunder (with newly available files of the Nazi agencies themselves), is helping to establish their provenance and migratory paths and providing new clues about missing or dispersed segments.

Many French archives seized by Soviet authorities and transferred to Moscow after the war came with the loot of the Reich Central Security Office—RSHA (Reichssicherheitshauptamt) from the RSHA Amt VII (Seventh Office) archival hideaway in Wölfelsdorf (Polish Wilkanów) near Habelschwerdt (Polish Bystrzyca-Kłodzka) in Silesia. Previously taken from Paris to Berlin, they were evacuated to Silesia during the summer of 1943. The RSHA Amt VII loot included massive plundered files from Masonic, Jewish, socialist, and Russian émigré organizations, along with many personal papers in all categories. At least 28 freight train wagons of those archival holdings were transferred to Moscow by Soviet authorities in the fall of 1945. Another 25 wagons of the French intelligence and police records were captured by Soviet authorities in a remote village near Česká-Lípa (German Böhmisches Leipa), across the Czech border in Sudetenland, having been moved there from Berlin for a special counter-intelligence unit under the RSHA Amt IV (Fourth Office), which also comprised the Gestapo. Most (but still not all) of them have been returned to France. Some library materials taken to the Soviet Union after the war came with the RSHA archival loot, but after arrival in Moscow, most of them were transferred to a variety of Soviet libraries.¹⁰

Many of the archival and library materials from France that ended up in the RSHA cache in Silesia had initially been confiscated—or ‘saved’—by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR), one of the most important Nazi agencies of cultural plunder working in the French capital. In Paris the ERR is best known for its widescale confiscation of famous art collections, particularly

¹⁰ See the study by Grimsted, ‘Twice Plundered or “Twice Saved”? Russia’s “Trophy” Archives and the Loot of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt’, *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 15(2) (September 2001), pp. 191–244. See also my initial report, ‘New Clues in the Records of Archival and Library Plunder during World War II: the ERR Ratibor Center and the RSHA VII Amt in Silesia’, in *The Return of Looted Collections (1946–1996): an Unfinished Chapter: Proceedings of an International Symposium to mark the 50th Anniversary of the Return of Dutch Collections from Germany*, ed. F. J. Hoogewoud, E. P. Kwaadgras *et al.* (Amsterdam, IISH, 1997), pp. 52–67. I am currently preparing a monograph on these operations with extensive documentary appendixes.

from Jews who had fled or were deported. More research is still needed about the massive ERR confiscation of libraries and archives.

Many of the archival materials that were returned to Paris from Moscow in 1994 and 2000 appeared on a spring 1941 ERR list of 110 confiscated Paris 'Jewish libraries'—with names, addresses, the number of crates, and date of confiscation. Indicative of the problems of research regarding displaced archives and libraries, I first found a copy of the first part of that list two years ago in the U.S. National Archives in College Park, MD. A few months later, I found two more complete copies in the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz.¹¹ More recently, I identified another complete copy with the covering letter among U.S.-captured German military records returned to Germany and now held in Freiburg.¹² And recently in Kyiv I found several other ERR lists of private libraries and archives confiscated from Paris, which actually provided the ERR code numbers used for the crates and confirmed the quantities plundered from many of those same collections, including the three Slavic libraries.¹³

Following confiscation, the ERR was obliged to turn over many of the archival materials and some of the books from those Paris libraries to the RSHA and to other Nazi organizations. Others remained with the ERR or were transferred to other Rosenberg agencies. Their location at the end of the war depended on what agencies received them and where they evacuated them to avoid Western Allied bombing raids. Some of the books and archives on those lists that accordingly ended up in Western hands were returned from the Western Allied Zones of Occupation in Germany and Austria to France after the war. However, none of the books from the libraries on those ERR lists that ended up in Soviet hands after the war have been returned from Russia

¹¹ ERR-HAG Frankreich, 'Gesamtaufstellung der bisher vom Arbeitsgebiet Paris verpackten Büchereien' (Paris, 23 March 1941), photostat copy in US NACP, RG 260 (OMGUS), Records of the Property Division, Ardelia Hall Collection (AHC), box 468. Another copy, in a positive photocopy from the microfilmed MFA&A files (film 14.51, pt. 2), in the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz (BAK), B 323/261, ff. 48–60, includes a supplemental April list with an additional 30 library collections, and also a covering letter from Dr Gerhard Wunder to the Militärbeehlshaber in Frankreich (Military Commander in France) (2 May 1941), which describes them all as 'Jewish libraries'. Still another (less legible) copy is to be found in BAK, B 323/258, ff. 471–483. (See also note 12.) Although still far from a comprehensive listing of confiscated libraries, that list provides positive proof, with name, address, brief identification, and exact quantity of crates seized from each individual or institution.

¹² The document (also a photocopy) is found on the U.S.–Alexandria (NARA) microfilms in the series Militärbeehlshaber in Frankreich, roll 362, item 85621 (294K–306K), the originals of which are now held in the Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv in Freiburg, MGRA 85621. Although this would appear to be the original photocopy other copies of which are held in US NACP and BAK (note 11), I have as yet not located the original document.

¹³ 'Paris Einsatzstellen aus Schildes Kartothek' (undated but with covering memos in the same file and other reports from 1942), in TsDAVO (Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchykh organiv vlady ta upravlinnia Ukraïny), fond 3676, op. 1, sprava 172, ff. 274–275. Possibly the covering memo is the one filed later in the same dossier (21 January 1942), f. 324.

to France. Their fate in Nazi and Soviet hands can now be traced from several sources.

These three Slavic libraries were seized soon after the Nazi occupation of Paris, during the year before the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union. The Turgenev Library appears on the March 1941 list with an indication that '386 crates had been removed from 13/15 rue de la Bucherie between the 26th of September and the 6th of October 1940'.¹⁴ Nikolai Knorring, one of the Russian members of the Turgenev Library Administration who was in Paris at the time, gave the figure of over 900 crates because he saw some of the crates with numbers above 900.¹⁵ The additional ERR list found recently in Kyiv explains the discrepancy. According to that list (with actual Nazi crate markings), 387 crates were removed from the Turgenev Library—numbers 'M 1–152, and 766–999' and were turned over to the 'Amt Osten'. Interestingly enough that same list gives numbers for the Polish Library (with a total of '780 crates') as 'M I—M VII, 1–766', also turned over to the 'Amt Osten'.¹⁶ That list does not include the Petliura Library, but it does mention 5 crates ('SOO 1–5') from the Ukrainian émigré journal *Tryzub*, whose editorial office was in the Petliura Library. We know from other sources that the Petliura Library was visited by ERR agents at the same time, although the actual confiscation of its entire holdings of between 15,000 and 20,000 books and many archival materials came in January 1941.¹⁷

The confiscation of the three Paris Slavic libraries—along with others on the ERR lists—served two purposes for the Nazis. First, they wanted to obliterate all 'enemies of the Nazi regime', including the Jews, Masons, and other potential opposition elements, and to abolish their operations. According to one ERR specialist, in the case of the Slavic libraries and related institutions, such confiscation of 'important Marxist-Communist documentary materials, significantly assisted the liquidation' of what they considered to be 'the central scientific, political, and publicistic operational centers of the Eastern emigrant "enemies" in Paris'.¹⁸ Second, once they had gotten rid of the 'enemies', the Nazis wanted to utilize their books and archives for analysis of 'enemy' opera-

¹⁴ ERR-HAG Frankreich, 'Gesamtaufstellung der bisher vom Arbeitsgebiet Paris verpackten Büchereien' (Paris, 23 March 1941) (note 11).

¹⁵ As quoted by Nikolai Nikolaevich Knorring, 'Gibel' Turgenevskoi biblioteki v Parizhe', *Prostor* (Alma Ata), 1961, no. 8, p. 125; reprinted in *Russkaia obshchestvennaia biblioteka imeni I. S. Turgeneva* (note 6), p. 115.

¹⁶ 'Paris Einsatzstellen aus Schildes Kartothek', TsDAVO, fond 3676, op. 1, sprava 172, ff. 274–275.

¹⁷ See Grimsted, 'The Odyssey of the Petliura Library', and Grimsted, 'The Postwar Fate of the Petliura Library' (note 8).

¹⁸ Gerhard Utikal, 'Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Einsatzstabes der Dienststellen des Reichsleiters Rosenberg für die westlichen besetzten Gebiete und die Niederlande in Frankreich' (Paris, 20 March 1941), photocopy in US NACP, RG 260 (OMGUS), Records of the Property Division, Ardelia Hall Collection (AHC), box 468.

tions and preparation for their ideological struggle against them. In the case of the Paris Slavic libraries, the Nazis needed their holdings for their immediate wartime research and propaganda writings on Eastern lands (*Ostforschung*).

The occupation of Poland had already been achieved a year before the Polish Library and the remainder of the Mickiewicz Museum were packed and removed (September–November 1940).¹⁹ Although the holdings were designated for Rosenberg's planned postwar Nazi university known as the *Hohe Schule*, the ERR was forced to turn the Polish collections over to the Reich Ministry of the Interior for the library of its own research programme known as the Publikationsstelle—PuSte (literally, Publications Office).²⁰ But the Russian and Ukrainian libraries were retained by Rosenberg's Amt Osten in preparation for Operation Barbarossa, soon to be launched against the Soviet Union. Thus the Turgenev and Petliura holdings went to the ERR center for anti-Bolshevik research and propaganda in Berlin, along 'with materials from 28 smaller specialized collections'.²¹ In the case of the Petliura Library, the Nazis also brought the librarian Ivan Rudychiv to assist with the library in Berlin; he never saw the books there and a year later they sent him back to Paris. Before leaving Berlin, Rudychiv managed to transfer a few of the papers he had rescued from the Library and some of his own to a friend from Prague to be donated to the Museum of the Struggle for the Liberation of Ukraine. They were later captured with other Prague émigré collections by Soviet Ukrainian authorities, which explains why that segment ended up in Kyiv.

Most of the library materials confiscated from both the Turgenev and Petliura Libraries stayed with the ERR throughout the war. After arrival in Berlin they were incorporated into the so-called Ostbücherei Rosenberg, a special ERR library for anti-Bolshevik propaganda research. As Allied bombing intensified in 1943 the Ostbücherei and related research operations were evacuated from Berlin to the remote ERR Silesian center in Ratibor (now Polish Racibórz), southwest of Katowice.²² A memorandum accompanying the

¹⁹ 'Bibliothèque Polonaise de Paris sous l'occupation allemande, 1940–1944' (16 February 1945), signed by Jan Zarnowski, Franciszek Puławski and Czesław Chowaniec, supplied to SHAEF by the French Mission (22 March 1945), US NACP, RG 331 (SHAEF), G-5 Division, Operations Branch, MFA&A, Subject Files, 'Looting France', box 326. Another copy is among the OMGUS records (RG 260), Reparations and Restitutions Branch, Property Division, MFA&A, Cultural Property Claim Applications, box 743.

²⁰ Michael Burleigh documents the arrangement for use of the Polish Library by the Publikationsstelle in his *Germany Turns Eastwards: a Study of Ostforschung in the Third Reich* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 228–30, based on records of that agency now held in the Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde (BAB), R153.

²¹ Utikal (note 18).

²² My detailed study of the ERR library and archival confiscations and operations in Ratibor is in preparation for *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*; see also *Trophies of War and Empire* (note 1), chapter 8. Regarding ERR anti-Bolshevik research in Berlin and Silesia, see Grimsted, *Odyssey of*

ERR 1941 Paris confiscation list mentioned above was signed by Dr Gerhard Wunder, who by 1943 directed the ERR center in Ratibor. ERR documents found in Berlin confirm that the Petliura Library and the Turgenev Library were in Ratibor from the fall of 1943 until at least December 1944.²³ As another example from those lists, some of the personal papers of Boris Souvarine were returned to France from Moscow in 2000, but none of the 15,000 volumes of his Paris library, which (according to ERR documents) joined the Turgenev and Petliura Libraries in Ratibor.²⁴ At the time of their retreat from Ratibor in January–February 1945, the ERR was unable to evacuate the library books it had brought together in Ratibor—an estimated between one and two million volumes by the end of 1944.

Although most of the Turgenev and Petliura Libraries were retained intact by the Nazis, the fate of the books from the Turgenev Library in Soviet hands resulted in their wide dispersal throughout the USSR and Poland. At the end of the war Soviet scouts found a massive warehouse in a suburb of Katowice (75 kilometers northeast of Ratibor) with ‘hundreds and thousands of German crates’ of books.²⁵ Since many of those books had been plundered by the Nazis from Belarusian libraries, according to Soviet trophy brigade reports, an echelon was dispatched from Katowice (Mysłowice) to Minsk in October 1945. Some books from the Turgenev Library together with some from the Petliura Library, along with other Paris books from Ratibor, were part of that cargo.²⁶ The director the National Library of Belarus confirmed that a

the ‘Smolensk Archive’: *Plundered Communist Records for the Service of Anti-Communism* (Pittsburgh, REES, 1995), Carl Beck Papers in Russian & East European Studies, no. 1201.

²³ The Turgenev Library in Ratibor is specifically mentioned in several ERR reports. See, for example (Ratibor, 8 February 1944), BAB, NS 30/22, f. 252–252v, where it is the first item mentioned among those from the Sonderstab Westen from Paris—‘Turgenjeff-Bücherei, Signatur M’ and (Ratibor, 14 February 1944), BAB, NS 30/22, f. 247. See also Grimsted, ‘The Odyssey of the Petliura Library’ (note 8), pp. 189–91. An ERR report dated 29 November 1944 describes the visit of Professor Ivan Mirtschuk [Mirchuk], the director of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute (Ukrainisches Wissenschaftliches Institut / Ukraïns’kyi naukovi instytut) in Berlin, who was shown both libraries when he came to Ratibor to lecture—BAB, NS 30/57. The Petliura Library (ca. 10,000 vols) is also mentioned in a separate ERR report of 1 December 1944, BAB, NS 50/53, ff. 234–235.

²⁴ Wunder, ‘Zwischenbericht über Souvarine’ (Ratibor, 7 December 1944), BAB, NS 30/50, includes a two-page summary list of the 31 crates received (no. 16 was missing). The figure of 15,000 volumes was given by Souvarine in wartime and postwar attestations to French authorities—IISH, Souvarine Papers, folder 8.

²⁵ See the journalistic memoir of Boris Shiperovich, ‘Spasenie knig’, *Al’manakh bibliofila*, 1973, pp. 57–65 (the text is dated 1971).

²⁶ ‘Turgenevskaja biblioteka v Lignits (Pol’sha)’, no. 31, in ‘Spisok bibliotek, obsledovannykh predstaviteliami Komiteta kul’tury v Germanii za period 1-go ianvaria–1 maia 1946 goda’, Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (GARF), fond A-534, op. 2, delo 1, f. 182–182v (original ribbon copy; cc in fond A-534, op. 2, delo 10, f. 137–137v); a German translation is published in *Die Trophäenkommissionen der Roten Arme: Eine Dokumentensammlung zur Verschleppung von Büchern aus deutschen Bibliotheken* (Frankfurt am Main, Vittorio Klostermann, 1996), p. 141,

shipment 'reached Minsk by train in the autumn of 1945—totaling 54 freight wagons carrying about one million books'.²⁷ Many of the foreign books remained in Belarus, whose libraries were devastated by the war, but others were forwarded to Moscow or Leningrad. A Soviet military report confirms a shipment of forty wagons from a Mysłowice warehouse that had been dispatched to the USSR with an estimated 1,200,000 books from Mogilev, Pskov, and Riga that had been retrieved by the Red Army. Presumably, they were part of those plundered books brought to the Ratibor area by the ERR, but we do not yet know if reference was to the same shipment as the one to Minsk that reportedly included some books from the Turgenev Library.²⁸

Some of the Turgenev Library books found in the Katowice (Mysłowice) warehouse were ravaged even before the shipment to Minsk, according to that same trophy brigade report. But a larger part of the Library remained in Poland. By the end of the year 60,000 volumes from the Turgenev Library were transferred to a Soviet Officers' Club in Legnica, the Red Army Headquarters for Silesia, west of Wrocław.²⁹ A recently discovered January 1946 telegram—addressed from Moscow to the Soviet trophy library brigade headed by Margarita Rudomino (then in Berlin)—confirms the Legnica location and indicates the importance with which Soviet authorities regarded the Turgenev Library.³⁰

According to the trophy brigade report the most valuable books from the

Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie, Sonderheft 64. The report is signed by Aleksei Dmitrievich Manevskii, director of the Scientific-Research Institute for Museum and Regional Studies (Moscow), who headed one of the main Soviet trophy brigades in Germany (May 1945–December 1946) under the Committee for Cultural-Educational Institutions under the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR and the Committee for Culture under the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR. Margarita Rudomino, Director of the All-Union Library of Foreign Literature (VGBIL) in Moscow, headed the library group.

²⁷ From a letter by the director of the National Library Galina N. Oleinik to Frits J. Hoogewoud (June 1993), quoted by Hoogewoud in 'Russia's Only Restitution of Books to the West: Dutch Books from Moscow (1992)', in *The Return of Looted Collections* (note 10), pp. 72–73. Hoogewoud kindly showed me the original letter, but Oleinik gave no more details about the shipment or its point of origin.

²⁸ The Red Army document was cited without names or date by Aleksandr M. Mazuritskii, *Knizhnye sobraniia Rossii i Germanii v kontekste restitutsionnykh protsessov: monografiia* (Moscow, Moskovskii gosudarstvennyi universitet kul'tury i iskusstv, 2000), p. 72, from an unspecified file in the Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense (TsAMORF), fond 32, op. 113, delo 327, ff. 383–384v. I have as yet been unable to verify the original or related files and hence cannot confirm if that is one and the same shipment referred to by Oleinik (see note 27).

²⁹ 'Turgenevskaiia biblioteka v Lignits (Pol'sha)', GARF, fond A-534, op. 2, delo 1, f. 182–182v.

³⁰ The telegram from Morozov is addressed to Aleksei D. Manevskii and Margarita Rudomino (22 January 1946), GARF, fond A-534, op. 2, delo 8, f. 218, with handwritten resolutions regarding their removal from Poland. The text of the telegram was first published by Ivan Tol'stoi in his report on the January 2001 Colloquium in Paris—'Ot mifov k podlinnoi istorii: "Kul'tura v izgnanii, kul'tura izgananiia"', *Zametki uchastnika konferentsii*, *Russkaia mysl'* (Paris), no. 4350 (25–31 January 2001), pp. 1, 13.

Turgenev Library—from a Soviet standpoint—were delivered from Legnica directly to the Lenin State Library in Moscow in March 1946 by Major [Boris] Shapirovich [*sic*, i.e. Shiperovich].³¹ However, the arrival of that shipment or of Major Shiperovich at the Lenin Library has yet to be documented in the successor Russian State Library. We do now know, nonetheless, that the Lenin Library received a shipment of books ‘from Germany from the Officers’ Club of the Political Command of the Northern Forces’ in Legnica before 19 March 1946, because on that date the library’s director wrote the chief of the Main Archival Administration under the NKVD proposing to transfer the papers of Vladimir Burtsev and Viktor Chernov that had arrived with those books. Several Russian émigré accounts noted that the Burtsev papers had been taken by the Nazis from the Turgenev Library.³²

Although RGB librarians earlier refused responses and were apparently unaware of the extent of their holdings from the Turgenev Library, as of spring 2002, they are estimating between 8,000 and 10,000 books held in different divisions of their Library. But librarians emphasise that that remains a preliminary, and very provisional, estimate. The first public mention of that figure came at the RGB colloquium ‘Rumiantsev Readings’ in April 2002.³³ The quantity and the chaos in which ‘trophy’ books were received—usually without any indication of whence they came nor the multiple different divisions of the library to which they were directed without trace of their provenance—makes it exceedingly difficult and time-consuming today to trace their source and date of acquisition.

Because the Turgenev Library in Paris was such a prestigious institution and of such importance to Soviet authorities, books that bore that stamp were given special treatment in the Lenin Library, and penciled numbers with a ‘Tg’ designation were affixed to over 9,000 volumes. In July 1948, at least

³¹ See the Manevskii/Rudomino report, ‘Turgenevskaiia biblioteka v Lignits (Pol’sha)’, GARF, fond A-534, op. 2, delo 1, f. 182v.

³² The note from Lenin Library Director V. G. Olishev to Major-General Nikitinskii, I found in RGB Archive, op. 214, delo 6, f. 19. Both the Burtsev and Chernov papers are now held in GARF. The Chernov papers were confiscated by the ERR from with the collections of the Paris Branch of the IISH (see note 74).

³³ See the reports by N. V. Ryzhak, ‘Kolleksiiia parizhskoi Russkoi obshchestvennoi biblioteki im. I. S. Turgeneva v fondakh RGB’, in *Rumiantsevskie cheteniia—2002: Natsional’naia biblioteka v sovremennom sotsiokul’turnom protsesse*, vol. 1: *Tezisy i soobshcheniia* (Moscow, RGB, 2002), pp. 296–301; and by V. S. Miasishcheva, ‘Ob opyte raboty s inostrannymi knizhnymi kolleksiiami, popavshimi v SSSR v sostave kul’turnykh tsennostei peremeshchennykh v resul’tate Vtoroi mirovoi voyny, i nakhodiashchikhsia v Otdale khraneniia osnovnykh fondov (V kontekste deiatel’nosti po raskrytiiu knizhnykh fondov za starye gody)’, *ibid.*, pp. 280–83. Nadezhda Ryzhak kindly invited me to attend the session on 23 April, when she presented her more detailed report and showed several documents. See also Ryzhak’s article ‘Vtoraia mirovaia voina i sud’ba izdaniia parizhskoi Turgenevskoi biblioteki, okazavshikhsia v RGB’, *Bibliotekovedeniia*, 2002, no. 3, pp. 114–18. Valeriia Miasishcheva was not able to present her report at the conference but kindly gave me a copy later.

one major batch of Turgenev Library books were catalogued in the Lenin Library in what was then known as the 'Fond of Fatherland Books' (Fond Otechestvennye knigi), as apparent in one of the recently opened acquisition registers (Aktovaia kniga) for 1948.³⁴ However, many of the accessions from the Turgenev Library were not processed until 1983. As a result of the inventory and call numbers (shelfmarks) assigned at that time, librarians have been able to identify one specific area of the stacks with 2,500 books from the Paris library. They showed me many of the books there and demonstrated the database they are preparing for those with Turgenev Library stamps among the RGB Division of General Holdings.³⁵

The Museum of the Book (Rare Book Division) is preparing a card catalogue of their holdings from the Turgenev Library—obviously among the most interesting of those received—currently numbering 425 items. Already they have searched their 'revolutionary' sections and found many volumes with stamps both of the Library/Archive of the Russian Socialist Democratic Workers' Party (RSDRP) and the Turgenev Library. Librarians estimate closer to 1,000 volumes in that division, which will undoubtedly include more volumes with dedicatory inscriptions to the Paris library, and many with various stamps or inscriptions of previous owners (as is also the case in the Division of General Holdings). Most of the Rare Book receipts started in 1948 and came from other divisions; hence they do not have documentation about their arrival in Moscow.³⁶ As of spring 2002, not all documentation regarding 'trophy' receipts in other divisions of the library has been declassified or is open to outside researchers. But now that RGB has started a special project to identify and inventory books from the Turgenev Library (with the encouragement of the Ministry of Culture), information is beginning to open and further publications are planned.

A letter dated in the fall of 1947 now held in the Turgenev Library in Paris confirms that many books from the Turgenev Library were in Legnica, which may have been the first time the Turgenev Library Association in Paris knew

³⁴ A 1948 acquisition register that I examined (in April 2002) includes, for example, 'Akt no. 357' (27 July 1948), ff. 133–134v, with a heading 'Turgenevskaiia b-ka', for nos. 56807–56949. Books are listed with the author, title, place, and date of publication typed in, and the Lenin Library shelfmark added by pen in hand. Almost all authors' names in that sequence start with 'B'. This would suggest that the Turgenev Library books had been arranged in rough alphabetical order after their arrival in Moscow before they were formally entered in the accession register.

³⁵ One register for the early months of 1983—'Otechestvennye knigi 1983', kn. 1, nos. 1–1585', that I examined in April 2002, contains many scattered inventory sheets with the heading 'Turgenevskaiia biblioteka', dated 15 February through 17 March, for example, no. 43 (inventory nos. 723–749), no. 51 (853–875), no. 57 (nos. 907–926), through no. 96 (1457–1481). Many of the entries indicate that they were received in earlier years ('Probely za starye gody') and many indicate that they came from the exchange collections (*obmennyi fond*).

³⁶ I am particularly grateful to Zoia A. Pokrovskaiia in the RGB Museum of the Book for showing me the card catalogue and many of the Turgenev Library books she has identified.

of that location.³⁷ By that time, however, many had apparently already been transferred to Moscow. In November 1948, the Lenin Library transferred most of the archival materials it had acquired of provenance in the Turgenev Library to the Central State Archive of the October Revolution of the USSR (TsGAOR SSSR, now part of the State Archive of the Russian Federation—GARF). The ‘Act’ of transfer from the Lenin Library for those archival materials from Paris notes that they ‘were acquired with books from the Turgenev Library in 1946–1947’.³⁸ And in fact the Lenin Library received most of its estimated close to two million ‘trophy’ books during those two years.

By 1948, the Lenin Library had also started to transfer Turgenev Library books to other institutions. Notably, in 1948 at least one book from the Paris library containing notes by Vladimir Lenin was transferred to the Central Party Archive (TsPA) under the Institute of Marxism-Leninism (IML pri TsK KPSS).³⁹ Other books transferred to IML were registered in the library. For example, stamps of the Turgenev Library have recently been identified on seven issues of Lenin’s revolutionary newspaper *Iskra* in the former IML library, which has now been rebaptized the State Socio-Political Library—GOPB (Gosudarstvennaia obshchestvenno-politicheskaia biblioteka).⁴⁰

Even if it has not yet been possible to document the main Lenin Library acquisitions in 1946 and 1947, nor all of the transfers to other Soviet repositories, we now know that library continued to receive books from the Turgenev

³⁷ The handwritten personal letter from an unidentified ‘Katia’ addressed to ‘Aunt Dan’ia’ (possibly Tania) (probably Tanya Osorgina, who served as the principal librarian of the Turgenev Library after the war) is among Turgenev Library files in Paris.

³⁸ An ‘Act’ of transfer for archival materials from the Turgenev Library to TsGAOR SSSR (now GARF) (18 November 1948), GARF, fond 5142, op. 1, delo 423, f. 141. According to Nadezhda Ryzhak, after I showed her a copy of the document found for me by an archivist in GARF, she found a copy in the files of the former Special Division (Spetskhran), now the Division of Émigré Literature, which she heads, but she could not cite its location, because those files have not been declassified.

³⁹ That book is now held in the special collection of Leniniana, in the TsPA successor, the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (RGASPI), fond 2, op. 1, no. 26073, entitled *Fabrichno-zavodskaiia i remeslennaia promyshlennost’ Odesskogo gradonachal’sтва Khersonskoi Gubernii* (Odessa, 1897). In addition to a stamp of the Turgenev Library, the book also bears a stamp of the Library and Archive of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers’ Party (‘Biblioteka i arkhiva TsK RSDRP’), although that stamp had been cancelled out and a stamp of the State Lenin Library added. According to Maia Davidovna Dvorkina, who has researched these collections in the former TsPA and generously shared her findings with me, the book had probably been acquired by the Turgenev Library in 1920 and remained in Paris when the rest of the RSDRP library from Geneva was sent to the Soviet Union via Marseilles. That is the only book from the Turgenev Library that Dvorkina has found that was transferred to IML, although quite possibly there were others.

⁴⁰ I am exceedingly grateful to GOPB librarian Maia Dvorkina and her colleague who identified the seven issues in a preliminary search of copies of *Iskra* now held in GOPB; further searching may reveal more, but the task is difficult, because the issues were not kept together in serial runs by source. An early catalogue of serials still remaining in Paris indicates many of the issues of *Iskra* held before the war by the Turgenev Library.

Library in subsequent years. For example, one transfer of seven crates with 1,160 books from the Turgenev Library was received by the Lenin Library at the end of October 1948 from military sources, but there is no indication that those books had been in Legnica.⁴¹ Another recently surfaced three-page list gives highly abbreviated titles of 85 books and 13 journal issues received by the Lenin Library in January 1949 from the Officers' Club in Legnica. RGB librarians verified *de visu* 25 entries on the list (as a sample), all of which bear stamps of the Turgenev Library. Because the stacks of the Division of Émigré Literature remain closed for major reconstruction, it was not possible to verify the 12 émigré imprints listed but crossed out.⁴² Although the books on that list already verified do not bear stamps of the Officers' Club in Legnica, many other books with Turgenev Library stamps now held in RGB do.⁴³

If the current estimate for holdings in the Russian State Library is plus or minus 10,000, then what happened to the additional approximately 50,000 books from the Turgenev Library that were transferred from Mysłowice to Legnica? And what happened to the rest of the closer to 100,000 volumes that the ERR had kept together in Ratibor? While as of spring 2002 those questions can be answered only in part, we know that many of the Turgenev Library books were left behind in Legnica. An officer who had been stationed there in the early 1950s reported in print (in 1994) that in 1951 he and some fellow

⁴¹ A copy of that 36-page list (mostly written in pencil and prepared in several separate sections) was first revealed by Nadezhda Ryzhak during her presentation at the RGB April 2002 colloquium. I have since seen the original in the RGB Archive, op. 25, delo 80, ff. 7–44. A note at the end, signed by the 'Chief of the Library, Lieutenant V. Popov', gives a total of 1130 books. The pencilled covering 'Akt' of transfer (30 October 1948) bears a stamp of the NKO (People's Commissariat of Defence) warehouse (*sklad*) no. 312 of the Storage Division (*otdel khraneniia*). The location of that warehouse has yet to be verified.

⁴² I first saw a copy of the undated typewritten list several years ago, but in April 2002, RGB colleagues found the original with a cover memorandum (dated 29 January 1949) in the RGB Archive, op. 25, delo 93, ff. 1–4. The receipt for the shipment was not sent until after 24 October 1949, when the Chernovitskii garnizonnyi dom ofitserov requested acknowledgement that the Lenin Library had 'received literature—85 books and 13 journals from the Turgenev Library (city of Paris) sent to you ... in January 1949 by fast passenger train' (RGB Archive, op. 217, delo 4, f. 203). That note is signed by the same Lieutenant-Colonel Moisei Chertkov who signed the typewritten list. A confirmation of receipt was sent to the Officers' Club from the Lenin Library 24 November 1949 (RGB Archive, op. 217, delo 4, f. 202). Nadezhda Ryzhak kindly had an RGB colleague verify a sample 25 items on the list and provide their current call numbers; she has promised to check on the 12 émigré publications listed as soon as the stacks of her division are reopened. Chertkov's position as Chief of the Officers' Club in 1948–1949 has been confirmed by his military record card held in the Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense (TsAMO RF) in Podol'sk, a copy of which was sent to RGB with a letter of 25 September 2001.

⁴³ RGB librarians have found and shown me many such stamps. TsAMO also confirmed (letter of 25 September 2001, see note 42), the identity of the military unit referenced on the stamp—Voiskovaia chast', Field Post no. 02461. Earlier under the Political Administration of the 2nd Belorussian Front, it was reorganized under the Northern Command (Severnaia gruppa) and in June 1945 assigned to Legnica. I am grateful to RGB and TsAMO colleagues for verifying these details at my request.

soldiers were ordered to burn the remaining 'degenerate' part of the Turgenev Library, comprising 'many émigré editions—Riga, Belgrade, Berlin, Tallinn, Paris, Sofia ...'. He does not say how many books perished, but the process continued for over a month in the fireplace of the former German school building that housed the Officers' Club. He was able to save only one of them to bring home as a souvenir.⁴⁴ Confirmation of the Turgenev Library book burning in Legnica in the early 1950s comes recently from another source—a retired librarian who had been there at the time and managed to save only a few.⁴⁵

Some books from the Turgenev Library survived the book burning in Poland. Several years ago (in the late 1990s), Turgenev Library Secretary-General Hélène Kaplan was shown 118 books bearing stamps of both the Turgenev Library and the same Officers' Club in Poland in the library of the former Institute of Marxism-Leninism (now GOPB). Some of the stamps from the Library of the Officers' Club include dates from as late as 1962. These books had been presented to the Communist Party Central Committee in Moscow by the Institute of Party History in Warsaw in 1984. Since their arrival in Moscow, the library held them apart and did not accession them, because they were not in the GOPB 'profile', and librarians hoped to be able to return them to Paris.

The book burning in Legnica was not the only act of destruction at Soviet hands suffered by the captive émigré books from the Turgenev Library. Many of the books that remained in Minsk suffered a similar fate during Soviet 'ideological purification' campaigns, as confirmed by a librarian in the Belarusian capital who risked censure by trying to save some of the title pages with dedicatory autographs.⁴⁶ I have since heard confirmation from other sources, and I fear the same may have happened to books from the Petliura Library there. The same tragic fate befell a few volumes from both the Turgenev and Petliura Libraries that ended up in the State Historical Library in Kyiv, as reported to

⁴⁴ Vladimir Sashonko, 'Knigi s ulitsy Val-de-Gras', *Neva*, 1994, no. 10, pp. 301–305. The author reports an interview with the director of the Officers' Club, Aleksandr Rodionov.

⁴⁵ Mikhail D. Afanas'ev, Director of the State Public Historical Library (GPIB) in Moscow kindly furnished me a copy of a report he received from the daughter of a former librarian in the Legnica Officers' Club, recounting that Turgenev Library books were burned in Legnica in 1955.

⁴⁶ See a lengthy footnote on the fate of the Turgenev Library by Nikolai V. Kotrelev, 'Plach o pogibeli russkoi biblioteki', in *Redkie knigi i rukopisi: izuchenie i opisanie (Materialy Vsesoiuznogo nauchno-metodicheskogo soveshchaniia zaveduiushchikh otdelami redkikh knig i rukopisei bibliotek vuzov, Leningrad, 24–26 ianvaria 1989 g.)* (Leningrad, 1991), pp. 107–109, or the English version: 'Lamentation on the Ruin of the Russian Library', *Kul'turologiia: the Petersburg Journal of Cultural Studies*, 1 (3), 1993, pp. 147–50. Kotrelev documents the rescue of several title pages with dedicatory autographs of important Russian writers from several volumes with stamps of the Turgenev Library that were designated for destruction 'in an outlying Soviet library'. Kotrelev later identified that library to me as being in Minsk and told me that he has further evidence that most of the books were subsequently destroyed.

me personally by a now retired librarian who had headed the Division of Foreign Literature.

To add to the further dispersal of those libraries, many of the books first sent to Minsk were later forwarded to Moscow. Others remain in Minsk, as reported from numerous sources. The Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation has given a figure as high as 3,000 for books from the Turgenev Library remaining in the National Library of Belarus in Minsk. However, in 2000 when the director of the Library of the Russian Cultural Fund in Moscow inquired, he was told there were none. Several Belarusian colleagues confirm books from the Turgenev Library remaining in Minsk, and some from the Petliura Library as well. A librarian from Minsk recently assured me he has seen (as late as the early 1990s) a considerable number of books with Turgenev Library stamps, including one with illustrations and a dedication by Marc Chagall. Possibly some were transferred to the newly established Presidential Library in Minsk. Belarusian President Lukashenko presented four books with Turgenev Library stamps to Russian President El'tsin in 1997, and assured his Russian hosts that there were more where those came from. Further research in Minsk is badly needed soon, because recent publications suggest many books of French provenance remain there with important dedications, including those from the personal libraries of Léon Blum and the publicist Emmanuel Berl—with autographs by André Malraux, Paul Valéry, and André Gide, as well as limited editions by Max Jacob with original illustrations by Pablo Picasso.⁴⁷

Only a relatively few books from the Petliura Library have surfaced since the end of the war. About 220 books with Petliura Library stamps were 'returned' to Kyiv from Minsk in 1989, and have recently been identified in the Parliamentary Library of Ukraine. Recently, the Russian State Library has acknowledged the existence of a few books with stamps of the Petliura Library, which have been identified since 2001, when librarians started examining more of their 'trophy' holdings and searching for Turgenev Library books. Further verification is needed there, particularly in the separate section for Ukrainian books that has not yet been searched. Some fragmentary serial issues with stamps of the Petliura Library are now catalogued in the former Special Archive (now part of RGVA) and the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF) as part of the archival fonds of provenance in the Paris library. Many of the archival materials in RGVA were transferred to the former Special Archive from Minsk, while those in GARF came from the Lenin Library with the archival materials from the Turgenev Library. Surviving archives of

⁴⁷ See the articles by Vladimir Makarov, 'Avtografy sud'by', *Evropeiskoe vremia* (Minsk), no. 12 (November 1993), pp. 12–13; 'Avtografy sud'by', *Vsemirnaia literatura* (Minsk), 6 (1998), pp. 134–43; and 'Involuntary Journey of Books from Paris to Minsk', *Spoils of War: International Newsletter*, no. 6 (February 1999), pp. 25–27. The latter specifically names the Turgenev Library.

the Petliura Library, along with some of its prewar archival holdings and more issues of its serial holdings are now also to be found in two different archives in Kyiv.⁴⁸

Confiscated books from the Polish Library had a different odyssey from those of the other two Paris Slavic libraries. According to contemporary Nazi reports, the ERR removed at least 130,–140,000 volumes from the Polish Library. Assigned to the Reich Ministry of the Interior for use of their Publikationsstelle (PuSte), most of the more than 130,000 books had already arrived in Berlin by December 1940.⁴⁹ Since the PuSte had inadequate room for what would have involved three kilometers of shelf space in their present building, the books were initially deposited in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv (Berlin-Dahlem), where sorting and cataloguing was carried out by a PuSte team.⁵⁰ An extant 34-page crate-list inventory lists the contents of the 780 crates removed from Paris, grouped in sections MI–M VII, confirming the figures in the ERR report cited earlier.⁵¹ In February 1943 the Polish Library books were transferred to the PuSte building at Potsdamerstrasse 61, where holdings from the Mickiewicz Museum (including paintings, engravings, and other works of art) had earlier been placed. Some documents suggest that as many as 20,000 duplicates were assigned to other institutions, including the Staatsbibliothek, but confirming details have not been located.⁵²

The Polish Library hardly got settled in before it was moved again, remark-

⁴⁸ Detailed description of the archival materials from the Petliura Library in Moscow and Kyiv and the fate of its books are to be found in Grimsted, 'The Postwar Fate of the Petliura Library' (note 8).

⁴⁹ Regarding the seizure of books and the Biblioteka Polska/Bibliothèque polonaise in Paris, see the Fuchs ERR report to the Geheimes Feldpolizei (Paris, 15 September 1940), BAK, B 323/261. A 'Report to the Führer' by Rosenberg (13 November 1940) mentions 'a Polish library consisting of 130,000 volumes devoted to the history of the East', along with a list of other Jewish and Masonic cultural materials that had been shipped to Berlin—as published in *Le pillage par les Allemands des œuvres d'art et des bibliothèques appartenant à des juifs en France: recueil de documents*, ed. Jean Cassou (Paris, CDJC, 1947), p. 87, Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine, Série 'Documents', no. 4. See also ERR reports from the time of the initial seizures, all of which mention the Polish Library and the Rothschild Library (16 September 1940), CDJC, CXLV-574; (17 September 1940), CDJC, CXLI-181; and Rosenberg to Schwartz (18 September 1940), CDJC, CXLI-275, and the later ERR report ([1944?], CDJC, CXLI-158). More details about the Polish Library from the German perspective (including initial reports from Paris and negotiations with the ERR) are found in BAB, R 153, especially file nos. 6, 1516, and 1650, many of which are cited by Burleigh (note 20), pp. 228–30. See also Puławski, *Biblioteka Polska* (note 9), pp. 134, 137, and the 1945 report cited in note 19.

⁵⁰ See, for example, PuSte director Dr Johannes Papritz's report for 1940–1941 (BAB, R 153/1516) and librarian Dr Wolfgang Kohte's report for 1941 (BAB, R 153/1131).

⁵¹ BAB, R 153/1569; the cover note (dated 9 March 1942) is now filed with what would appear to be a copy of the initial inventories prepared at the time of shipment from Paris.

⁵² See Burleigh, *Germany Turns Eastwards*, p. 230. I have not yet found that figure nor any transfer documents. Colleagues in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin have been unable to document any receipts from the Polish Library. Reports by the PuSte librarian Kohte for 1941 (R 153/1131), 1942 (R 153/1522), and 1943 (R 153/1523) do not suggest major transfers.

ably with apparent little loss. Following government orders to evacuate Berlin with the threat of more serious Allied bombing, already starting in August 1943, the PuSte moved its major research activities and library southeast from Berlin to Bautzen (Saxony). Documentation for many of the evacuation shipments (including shipping papers and crate inventories) remain among PuSte records. Even floor plans of the Bautzen building, with indication of which sections of the library were assigned to which area of the repository, and the local home addresses of PuSte staff have been preserved.⁵³ The PuSte director's report that 130,000 volumes of the Polish Library were sent to Bautzen, with no indication of their further dispersal, suggests that indeed the vast majority of the holdings of the library were still together in the PuSte Bautzen evacuation center.⁵⁴

The Polish Library director in Paris, Franciszek Puławski, even before the end of hostilities, had learned that the bulk of the Polish Library that had been assigned to the Publikationsstelle in Berlin was further evacuated to Bautzen. According to his sources, during the fall of 1944, the library was further evacuated to Neugersdorf, not far from the present-day Czech border. Polish librarians (and representatives of the Paris library) became aware of the Neugersdorf cache and, soon after the end of hostilities, appealed to Soviet authorities for restitution. Apparently, as Puławski suggests, they succeeded in arranging for part of the library to be removed to what was soon to become the Polish side of the frontier, but that transfer has not been documented.⁵⁵

Already in February 1945, unlike the other two plundered Paris libraries, the Polish Library filed a day-by day account of the Nazi plunder and detailed list of losses with French authorities, a copy of which was forwarded to the Allied Military Headquarters (SHAEF) MFA&A units handling restitution.⁵⁶ But the Western Allies found no trace of the library in their occupation zones of Germany and Austria. Books evacuated from the Polish Library to the south of France and other safe havens were returned to Paris.

Meanwhile, plus or minus 110 crates of books (some of the books were not even packed) from the Polish Library were recovered in Silesia west of Wrocław by Polish authorities in the fall of 1945 in a manor house near Za-

⁵³ See especially the floor plans in Bautzen (Kornstrasse 1) and shipping inventories for the Polish Library from Berlin to Bautzen in BAB, R 153/823. Shipments continued until January 1944. See also the documents in R 153/825.

⁵⁴ That figure is mentioned in the report by PuSte director (Leiter) Dr Johannes Papritz (23 August 1943), BAB, R 153/825.

⁵⁵ See Puławski, *op cit.*, and esp. p. 172. These details are repeated in several other Polish reports prepared in Paris. Aside from Puławski's account, no documentation has surfaced about any transport of books from Neugersdorf into Silesia, although indeed Puławski and other Polish scouts, as he relates, were searching for Polish cultural property in Germany immediately after the end of hostilities.

⁵⁶ See note 19.

grodno (German Adelin, close to Złotyja, German Goldberg). We do not know how or whence the ca. 110 crates of Paris books reached Silesia (Zagrodno/Adelin). No documentation or first-hand accounts have surfaced to confirm they had been moved there from Neugersdorf, as Puławski suggests, with or without Soviet assistance. Curiously, they were found 25 kilometers southwest of Legnica, the Red Army Headquarters for the region with the Officers' Club to which the Turgenev Library books were transferred a month or two later. In any case, those books found in Silesia from the Paris Polish Library were taken to the Biblioteka Narodowa in Warsaw in October 1945, although some serials went to the Parliamentary (Sejm) Library.⁵⁷ Most of them were thence returned from Warsaw to Paris in July 1947—namely '45,592 volumes, 1,229 volumes of periodicals, 878 manuscripts, 85 drawings, 52 portfolios of maps, and 298 other items (including catalogues and brochures)'.⁵⁸ Only a few materials remained in the Biblioteka Narodowa in Warsaw.

What Puławski and his Polish colleagues did not know is that Soviet authorities found 747 crates of books from the Polish Library in an abandoned brick factory in Neugersdorf in the spring of 1946, and thence dispatched them to Moscow in one of the echelons of Soviet 'trophy' books. Recently declassified Soviet trophy brigade reports document the shipment of those 747 crates (ca. 70,000 volumes and one crate of an alphabetical catalogue) to the Library of Foreign Literature (VGBIL) in Moscow among forty freight cars in military echelon 177/8030 from Dresden on 6 May 1946. The Soviet report emphasized that the library was 'of interest to the USSR as a text for the study of Poland and other Slavic countries, most particularly, since our largest libraries have very little literature on such questions'.⁵⁹ Once the Polish Library books

⁵⁷ The shipment of about five freight cars, abandoned by Nazi authorities in February 1945, was found in a shed on an estate in Kswary Świerkowski in Zagrodno (German Adelin or Adelsdorf), near Złotoryja (German Goldberg), 80 kilometers west of Wrocław—as described in a 25 October 1945 report by Dr Bohdan Horodyski of the Biblioteka Narodowa (Warsaw). The head of the Manuscript Division of the Biblioteka Narodowa kindly showed me a copy of the report and inventory in 1989. Most of the other Polish collections in that cache had been evacuated from Cracow in January 1945, including many earlier (spring 1944) evacuated to Cracow from the Ossolineum and Ukrainian sources in Lviv. There is no indication that any books from the Polish Library had been shipped to Cracow, although the Publikationsstelle had a subsidiary unit there connected with the Institute for German Work on the East (Institut für deutsche Ostarbeit) responsible directly to the Nazi Governor-General Dr Hans Frank.

⁵⁸ As quoted from the protocol by the Paris library director Puławski (note 9), p. 172.

⁵⁹ A telegram signed by Margarita Rudomino (16 May 1946) announced the dispatch to Moscow of 747 crates of books from the Polish Library found by Soviet authorities in a brick factory in Neugersdorf (together with several other German library collections)—GARF, fond A-534, op. 2, delo 8, f. 133; that shipment is confirmed by shipping lists and other documents in the same file. See also the report 'Pol'sko-frantsuzskaia biblioteka', in 'Spisok bibliotek, obsledovannykh', GARF, fond A-534, op. 2, delo 1, f. 133v, and delo 10, f. 178v; published in German translation by Ingo Kolasa in *Die Trophäenkommissionen der Roten Armee* (note 26), document no 20, p. 133. See also the German published version of a summary note about the Polish Library in another report signed by Rudomino, *ibid.*, pp. 166–67, which dates the shipment as leaving

arrived in Moscow, however, 742 crates of them were turned over to the State Public Historical Library rather than the Library of Foreign Literature.⁶⁰

Librarians made an initial inspection of the 'trophy literature' in the summer of 1950, according to documents about the collection recently available in the Historical Library. In a subsequent report (March 1951), 'the collection with stamps of the Polish Library in Paris' was estimated as comprising '35,000 books, 100,000 issues of newspapers and journals, and 40 crates of other materials'. The latter were described as containing 'mostly clippings from newspapers and journals, photographs, letters' . . . , 'materials from the Museum of Adam Mickiewicz' . . . , 'materials from the Mickiewicz Academy in Florence,' and materials on the history of the Polish emigration and its organizations in Italy and England (19th–20th cc.)'. Among other archival materials were 'personal papers of Kazimierz Smogorzewski' and 'documents regarding the history of the Polish Library in Paris'.⁶¹

Because the collection was then 'stored in an unheated former church being used by GPIB for its duplicates and exchange collections', the more thorough cataloguing of the materials ordered by the Committee for Cultural and Educational Institutions of the RSFSR could be carried out only during the summer. By October 1953, after sorting and processing the materials, librarians described the collection as containing 'books, brochures, and newspaper and journal issues to 1917—50,317 volumes; books, brochures, and journal numbers post-1917—14,503 volumes; clippings from newspapers to 1917—64,820 in 15 boxes (with 12,807 folders); clippings post 1917—29 boxes (1,540 folders); and manuscripts, 4 boxes'. As evident in the reports and budget calculations, GPIB librarians prepared a complete card catalogue for all of the books and serial issues and summary lists of the other materials.⁶² At the end of December 1954, the entire collection was turned over to

Dresden on 6 May 1946 (p. 170); the original and another copy of that document are in GARF, fond A-534, op. 2, delo 1, ff. 21–25 and ff. 59–65). Another summary chart of the library shipments published in German translation (document no. 31, p. 197), confirms the number of the echelon, but indicates that there were only 742 crates from the Polish Library from Paris. Another summary list signed by Rudomino in the same publication indicates that there were 60,000 rather than 70,000 books from the Polish Library found in Neugersdorf that were shipped to Moscow (document no. 26, pp. 166–67).

⁶⁰ The transfer to GPIB is documented in a memo by VGBIL director Margarita Rudomino to the Committee on Cultural-Educational Institutions (November [1945]), published German translation in *ibid.*, p. 171 (document no. 27). Documentation regarding the arrival of those crates in GPIB has not yet surfaced, but curiously, a tabular listing of the number (and markings) of crates in that echelon 177/8030 found in the RGB Archive (op. 25, delo 81, ff. 6–7) indicates that of the 747 crates marked 'P', only 725 were received by GPIB. Under an earlier echelon (177/8028), 7 crates are listed for the Lenin Library with the mark 'P', but further verification is needed to determine if those might be in fact from the Polish Library.

⁶¹ GPIB Archive, special unnumbered folder on the 'Polish Collection', ff. 11–12. I am grateful to GPIB director Mikhail D. Afanas'ev for arranging for me to consult the formerly secret folder.

⁶² GPIB Archive, 'Polish Collection' folder, report dated 27 October, 1953, ff. 17–18. A later

the Ministry of Culture for transfer to Poland.

Some of the materials from the Polish collections from Paris brought to Moscow from Germany had gone to the Lenin Library, since they too were involved in the December 1954 transfer, as is evident from the official transfer papers and inventories turned over to the Soviet Ministry of Culture. Separate inventories prepared by the Lenin Library described 108 works of art, including 16 literary portraits, lithographs and engravings, among them a collection of 71 watercolors and pencil drawings with scenes from the Polish Romantic poet and revolutionary Julian Słowacki, and 20 rare items of printed material, most from the nineteenth century, including a five-volume set (printed and manuscript) relating to the Polish Uprising of 1863.⁶³

In January 1955, Soviet authorities, 'aware of the tremendous losses of Polish libraries and museums', announced at a reception at the Ministry of Culture the 'return' of these 'Polish books and manuscripts plundered by the fascist aggressor that were recovered by the Soviet Army'. Summary inventories of the Paris collection were handed over to Polish authorities in January 1955, but the official act of transfer to Poland has not yet been found.⁶⁴ Most of the materials received later in 1955, according to published Polish sources, were deposited in the Adam Mickiewicz Literary Museum (*Muzeum Literatury im. Adama Mickiewicza*) in Warsaw—namely, according to one source, 'the entire book collections of the Mickiewicz Museum in Paris (ca. 5,700 volumes), part of the books from the Polish Library (29,000 volumes), many manuscripts, and a large collection of albums of clippings . . . Because their return to Paris was not possible they were placed on "deposit" status'.⁶⁵

We do not yet know how many books from the Polish Library were left behind in the Soviet Union, nor how to account for the difference between the Soviet and Polish figures quoted, nor what may have become of what would appear to be missing crates (including the one with card catalogues) from the shipment from Dresden. Possibly some books also went Lenin Library (now RGB) and remain there. RGB librarians who have been searching for the

report (29 November 1954) includes 'five' rather than four boxes of manuscripts from the Mickiewicz family and Kazimierz Smogorzewski', f. 67. Apparently the card catalogues prepared in the early 1950s were among those destroyed by fire in 1980 in the former church used by GPIB for auxiliary storage, as suggested by GPIB director Afanas'ev.

⁶³ GPIB Archive, 'Polish Collection' folder, receipt dated 29 December 1954, f. 70; typed copy f. 73 with inventories of materials from the Lenin Library, ff. 71–72.

⁶⁴ GPIB Archive, 'Polish Collection' folder, report 'Priem' (22 January 1955), f. 74.

⁶⁵ These figures are given by Halina Natuniewicz, *Zbiory i prace polonijne Muzeum Literatury im. Adama Mickiewicza w Warszawie: informator* (Warsaw, 1984), *Zbiory i Prace Polonijne Bibliotek Polskich*, vol. 2, pp. 36–37. The transfer and holdings are confirmed (with an erroneous receipt date of 1954) by Tadeusz Januszewski, in *Zbiory rękopisów w bibliotekach i muzeach w Polsce* (Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, 1988), pp. 299–300. Further verification is needed in Warsaw regarding the materials received from the Soviet Union in the 1950s, as Hanna Łaskarzewska from the Biblioteka Narodowa also appropriately suggests.

Turgenev Library books report finding some from the Polish Library as well, but duplicates received by the Lenin Library may well have been distributed elsewhere. Perhaps some crates ended up with the State Literary Fond that was also distributing books in the postwar years to libraries throughout the USSR. Fifteen books with stamps from the Polish Library (two of them also with stamps of GPIB) have surfaced in the library of Voronezh State University together with another twenty-six from the Turgenev Library, as listed in brochures issued by that library.⁶⁶ Where more books from the Polish Library will turn up is now impossible to say, but recently books with stamps of the Turgenev Library have been reported as far away as the island of Sakhalin.⁶⁷

An unpublished 1969 report in Paris with details on the wartime losses by the head librarian (Kustosz), Wojciech Kret, concludes that approximately 48% of the prewar holdings had been returned to the library in Paris at that point.⁶⁸ Kret, however, was apparently unaware of the materials transferred from the Soviet Union that were then held by the Literary Museum in Warsaw. Current Warsaw estimates from the Biblioteka Narodowa, if combined with Nazi documentation about the seizures and transfers, would suggest that the total returned (as of 2002) should probably be closer to 30%.⁶⁹ In 1992 the Biblioteka Narodowa started an assistance programme for the Biblioteka Polska in Paris, including 'arrangement, cataloguing, microfilming, and retrieval of fugitive books and manuscripts'.⁷⁰ Several accession registers and a few other materials were returned from the Biblioteka Narodowa to Paris at that time, but so far as is known, all of the books and manuscript materials deposited in the Literary Museum in Warsaw remain there today.⁷¹

⁶⁶ The report by Voronezh librarian Svetlana Iants at the April 2000 international conference on displaced cultural treasures in Moscow (VGBIL) is available electronically at http://www.libfl.ru/restitution/conf/janz_r.html. Iants kindly gave me copies of the recent series of brochures listing the books held by the Regional Scientific Library (Zonal'naia nauchnaia biblioteka) of Voronezh State University: *Universitetskaia biblioteka v litsakh, sobytiakh, knigakh*, no. 3: *Knigi iz Russkoi Turgenevskoi biblioteki v Parizhe, khraniashchiesia v NB VGU*; and no. 5: *Iz kataloga knig 'Pol'skaia biblioteka v Parizhe'* (Voronezh, 2000).

⁶⁷ See S. A. Paichadze, 'Knigi iz Turgenevskoi Biblioteki v Parizhe na ostrove Sakhalin', in *Tret'ie Grodekovskie chteniia: materialy regional'noi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii. Dal'nyi Vostok Rossii: Istoricheskii opyt i sovremennye problemy zaseleniia i osvoeniia territorii*, Khabarovsk 4–5 oktiabria 2001 g. (Khabarovsk, Khabarovskii kraevoi kraevedcheskii muzei im. N. I. Grodekova, 2001), vol. 2, pp. 172–75. Turgenev Library President Sabine Breuillard kindly sent me a copy of the Sakhalin report.

⁶⁸ 'Oświadczenie w sprawie strat poniesionych przez Bibliotekę Polską w Paryżu w wyniku deportacji zbiorów przez Niemców w roku 1940' (Paris, 29 December 1969). Marc Franciszkowski kindly furnished me with a copy of this report from the papers of the Librairie Lettres Slaves in Paris.

⁶⁹ Hanna Łaskarzewska, who heads the Sector for the History of the Book at the Biblioteka Narodowa in Warsaw, kindly investigated Polish sources and furnished me with a report about her findings in April 2002.

⁷⁰ Ewa Markiewicz (note 9), p. 7.

⁷¹ Other colleagues in the Biblioteka Narodowa had earlier suggested to me that more of the

Other private Slavic libraries and archives confiscated in Paris at the same time include those of Pavel Miliukov and Boris Nikolaevskii, as is apparent from the ERR lists and other Nazi documents. The papers of Pavel Miliukov seized by the Nazis from Paris are now in GARF, along with the editorial records of *Poslednie novosti* which Miliukov edited until June 1940. Over 5,000 volumes from his personal library are now held in the GARF library in Moscow. They had actually been seized, not by the ERR but by the SD for the RSHA, and were transferred to Moscow with the RSHA Amt VII loot from Wölfelsdorf in Silesia. Those books were transferred from the Special Archive to TsGAOR SSSR (the predecessor of GARF) in 1946, together with the papers of Boris Nikolaevskii from Paris, among others.⁷²

The ERR Paris lists include confiscations (books and archives) from several other Russian émigrés, including nine crates from Mark Aldanov (Aldanoff; pseud. of Landau) (SOQ 1–9), eleven from Mikhail Ossorgin (SOE 1–11), and initially three but later more from Boris Souvarine (Lipschitz) (SOS 1–3). Twenty-nine crates were confiscated from Il'ia Fundaminskii (usually Fundaminskii-Bunakov, although Bunakov was a pseudonym) together with records of the journal *Novaia Rossiia* (SOB 1–29). Seventy-one crates are listed as confiscated from a Czech library (SOK 1–71) in Paris, but their fate is unknown.⁷³ Also on one of those lists were 144 crates of the collections of the Paris Branch of the International Institute of Social History (IISH), which Nikolaevskii directed before the war, housed in the building (7, rue Michelet) next door to the Institute des Études Slaves, and which was rich in socialist documentation, including many papers of exiles from Eastern Europe.⁷⁴ An-

Biblioteka Polska books in Poland had been returned to France after the rescinding of Soviet-era restrictions, but Hanna Łaskarzewska in her April 2002 report assures me that was not the case. No returns of books from Warsaw are mentioned in the post-1991 annual or biennial reports of the Paris library published in the series, *Akta Towarzystwa Historyczno-Literackiego i Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu*, 6 vols. (Paris/Warsaw, 1991–2000).

⁷² The Miliukov papers from both Paris and Prague (RZIA) are now held in GARF, fond R-5856 (2 opisi; 788 units; 1869–1939), as described in *Fondy Russkogo zagranichnogo arkhiva v Prage* [RZIA]: *mezkharkhivnyi putevoditel'* (Moscow, 1999), pp. 331–33. According to that account, Miliukov had transferred some of his papers to RZIA in Prague in 1935/1936, but 550 file units and 7,143 books from Paris were received from TsGOA. The figure of 550 files corresponds to the figure for the transfer of 18 September 1946 given in the annual report by Musatov, 'Doklad o rabote TsGOA SSSR za 1946 god', GARF, fond 5325, op. 2, delo 1640, f. 83. The editorial records of *Poslednie novosti* are held as fond 6845 (351 units; 1920–1939), described in *Fondy RZIA* (p. 332), as having been separated out of the Miliukov papers which we now know were seized by the Nazis in Paris. The papers of Boris Nikolaevskii from Paris are part of the fond held in GARF (fond R-9217; 95 file units; 1923–1937).

⁷³ 'Paris Einsatzstellen aus Schildes Kartothek' (note 13), ff. 274–275. Several PuSte reports from September and October of 1940 (BAB, R 153/1650) suggest interest in the Czech library, and in one (9 September 1941), PuSte librarian Wolfgang Kohte claimed to have no details about its holdings. No further documentation has been found. Regarding more crates of the Souvarine collection in Ratibor, see note 24.

⁷⁴ 'Paris Einsatzstellen aus Schildes Kartothek' (note 13), f. 275. The IISH location and con-

other document in the same Kyiv file lists 135 predominantly Jewish library and archival confiscations along with more Masonic ones. I more recently found ERR descriptions prepared in Ratibor in 1944 of 28 of those confiscated libraries among fragmentary ERR files in the YIVO Archives in New York City, but the Slavic libraries under consideration here were not included, since those higher priority acquisitions were immediately incorporated into the ERR Ostbücherei.⁷⁵

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union the restitution of archives from Russia has so far been much more successful than that of library books. The extensive archival restitution to France is a case in point. In 1990 the Moscow journalist Evgenii Kuz'min, who now heads the Library Division of the Ministry of Culture, prepared the first major report about trophy library books in the USSR. His story revealed the millions of 'trophy' German books that had been left to rot under pigeon droppings in an abandoned church in Uzkoie outside of Moscow, including many valuable early imprints from famous German collections.⁷⁶ At a Russo-German Library Roundtable in December 1992, Kuz'min released a document giving the figure of eleven million trophy books brought to the USSR from Germany after the war, but that figure does not include those brought by other agencies or those that came intermixed with archival shipments. Initially at that meeting directors of many Russian libraries were not even prepared to admit that they held any trophy books at all, and only gradually has the truth about trophy collections been surfacing.⁷⁷

Since 1991, however, there have been only two library restitution transfers from Russia, both to the Netherlands in 1992, one of 600 Dutch books from the All-Russian Library of Foreign Literature (VGBIL), and another of European socialist literature from the former library of the Institute of Marxism-

fiscation is confirmed by the report of Boris Souvarine, then the Secretary of the IISH Paris Branch, found among his papers in IISH, Souvarine Papers, folder 8, and also a claim submitted to U.S. authorities in Germany—NACP, RG 260, Reparations and Restitution Branch, Property Division, MFA&A, Cultural Property Claim Applications, box 783.

⁷⁵ TsDAVO, fond 3676, op.1, sprava 172, ff. 273–283. YIVO Archives, RG 215 (Berlin Collection), G-223, a file from the records of the ERR Stabsführer IV5; most of the 28 library descriptions were dated in 1944 in Ratibor, although five of them had been prepared in 1942 in Berlin.

⁷⁶ See Evgenii Kuz'min, 'Taina tserkvi v Uzkom', *Literaturnaia gazeta*, no. 38 (8 September 1990), p. 10.

⁷⁷ See Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire* (note 1), especially chapter 7, especially pp. 257–70, with citations to relevant literature. See especially the article by Evgenii Kuz'min, 'Neizvestnye stranitsy istorii nemetskikh bibliotechnykh kolleksii v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny', in *Restitutsiia bibliotechnykh sobranii i sotrudnichestvo v Evrope: Rossiisko-germanskii 'kruglyi stol'*, 11–12 dekabria 1992 g. (Moscow, 1994; also published in German), and the article by Ingo Kolasa, 'Sag mir wo die Bücher sind . . . : Ein Beitrag zu "Beutekulturgütern" und "Trophäenkommissionen"', *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie*, 42(4) (1995), pp. 357–60. The Kuz'min article and a few other selections from the 1992 Roundtable are available electronically at <http://www.libfl.ru/restitution>, together with an extensive bibliography.

Leninism (now GOPB).

As of the 125th Anniversary Colloquium of the Turgenev Library in January 2001 only one of the 100,000 books seized by the Nazis from the Turgenev Library (and then seized by the Soviets) had come home from the war to Paris, and that one by sheer accident. A Dutch-language 1885 edition of the New Testament bearing the Turgenev Library stamp was returned in 1992 to Amsterdam with the restitution shipment from VGBIL in Moscow, and Dutch librarians duly returned it to Paris.⁷⁸ There are some indications that some of the Turgenev Library books were not shipped on to Berlin and Ratibor; one letter found recently among the library files in Paris notes that approximately twenty of its books in Western languages were returned from Germany or Austria by the Western Allies after the war. Only one serial run from the Petliura Library has returned to Paris, having been found in Austria immediately after the war, making a total of 27 prewar volumes now held by that library in Paris.

Since the end of 1992 the initial optimism about accommodation and possible restitution of library books from Russia waned. The growing Russian nationalist reaction led to the Duma prohibition of all cultural restitution in the spring of 1994. As if in retaliation, German librarians published a volume with German translations of secret Soviet trophy brigade reports, documents how many books (and/or crates) were seized from each of hundreds of German libraries and museums.⁷⁹ Those documents have helped me establish the fate of all three Slavic libraries from Paris, but not all the archival originals are declassified in Moscow.

The Library of Foreign Literature (VGBIL) has been one of the leaders of openness in Russia with respect to trophy holdings, and its directors have since the early 1990s stressed the benefits of 'gestures of goodwill' in terms of restitution to libraries abroad. VGBIL has issued several catalogues of its trophy holdings and a database compendium of foreign book markings.⁸⁰ The

⁷⁸ This incident was reported to me by Frits Hoogewoud, Deputy Curator of the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, University of Amsterdam Library. See Hoogewoud's published report about the migration and fate of the returned collections, 'Russia's Only Restitution of Books to the West: Dutch Books from Moscow (1992)', in *The Return of Looted Collections* (note 10), pp. 72, 74. The book was first exhibited and appears in the catalogue *Tentoonstellingcatalogus van de boeken uit het fonds van de VGBIL aanhorig bij de Nederlandse bezitters Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, September 1992 / Books from the Netherlands—War Victims: Catalogue of a book exhibition from the holdings of the VGBIL, belonging to the Netherlands, 15–28 June 1992*, compiled and edited by M. F. Pronina et al. (Moscow, "Rudomino," 1992); an annotated copy of the catalogue is held in the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana.

⁷⁹ *Die Trophäenkommissionen der Roten Armee* (note 26). Although most of the original Soviet documents in GARF included are now declassified, those among former CP records in RGASPI and RGANI remain classified.

⁸⁰ *Katalog der Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts aus den Beständen des VGBIL / Katalog nemetskoiazychnykh izdaniy XVI veka v fondakh VGBIL / Catalogus librorum sedecimi saeculi qui in Totius Rossiae reipublicae litterarum externarum bibliotheca asservantur*, comp. I. A. Korkmazova and A. L. Ponomarev; ed. N. V. Kotrelev (Moscow, "Rudomino", 1992, 1996), and the more recent *Katalog iz-*

VGBIL website provides a virtual bulletin board for Russian and related international developments.

A conference in April 2000 at VGBIL in Moscow heard the revelation about the twenty-six books from the Turgenev Library and fifteen books from the Polish Library in Paris identified in Voronezh.⁸¹ A colleague from Kyiv then queried if any books from the Petliura Library had been found there, but the answer was negative. The director of the State Public Historical Library (GPIB) in Moscow thereupon appealed that all books seized by the Nazis from the Turgenev Library which ended up in Russia should be returned to Paris, in tribute to the unique function of that library as an outpost of Russian culture in the French capital. A specialist from the Ministry of Culture later repeated his suggestion in print.⁸² A second VGBIL international seminar on restitution issues was held in April 2001 entitled 'Legislation and Gestures of Goodwill', but there were few other Russian gestures to report. Hélène Kaplan reported on the Turgenev Library anniversary, but the 118 promised books with library stamps had not yet been received from GOPB.⁸³ That 'gesture of goodwill' with respect to the Turgenev Library proposed a year earlier was finally implemented in November 2001, followed by a transfer ceremony in February 2002.

I first encountered the book stamp of the Turgenev Library in Moscow in 1989 at the home of a Russian historian friend. Never having been to Paris, he held in awe the library that Ivan Turgenev had helped found 125 years ago. He treasured the books with the library stamp and showed me the stamp of the second-hand bookshop in Moscow where he had legitimately purchased them. There have been many other sightings of Turgenev Library stamps in antiquarian bookshops and in personal collections throughout the former Soviet Union. Soviet newspapers report one deposited in a local library in Novo-Konstantinovo on the Don River and four in the Maiakovskii Museum

danii XVI veka v fondakh VGBIL / Catalogus librorum sedecimi saeculi qui in totius Rossiae reipublicae litterarum externarum bibliotheca asservantur, pt. 2: *Knigi na novykh evropeiskikh iazykakh (krome nemetskogo) / Libri verba aliarum linguarum vernacularum continentes* (Moscow, "Rudomino", 2001). The database of book markings is available electronically at <http://www.libfl.ru/restitution>, and has also been issued in printed form (Moscow, "Rudomino", 2000).

⁸¹ For the conference report and published leaflets, see note 66.

⁸² See the conference programme and reports at <http://www.libfl.ru/restitution/conf/index.html>. See the reference to the appeal by GPIB director Mikhail Afanas'ev with comments by a specialist from the Ministry of Culture—Nikolai Petrovskii, 'Po sledam Turgenevskoi biblioteki', *Ekho planety*, no. 47 (November 2000), p. 31. Other colleagues in the Ministry of Culture, including Library Division Head Evgenii Kuz'min and Deputy Minister Pavel Khoroshilov, have also suggested the desirability of returning books from the Turgenev Library to Paris.

⁸³ See the programme and reports at <http://www.libfl.ru/restitution/conf01/index.html>, including my own brief contribution, 'Greetings of Goodwill and the Unfinished Business of Post-World War II Restitution', available in English and Russian translation. Kaplan's report was unfortunately not submitted for publication. The conference proceedings were published in both Russian and German (Berlin/Moscow, 2001).

in Moscow. Several have been presented at different times to the Turgenev Museum near Orel, often because people wrongly assumed the stamps meant the books were from Turgenev's personal library; these include the most recent gift to Russia from Belarus President Lukashenko. Russian librarians report having been shown books with Turgenev Library stamps in Minsk. A Ukrainian colleague reported a few more in a village outside of Kyiv—brought home by a soldier from the war. Two have been reported at Stanford University in Palo Alto, California—probably received on exchange from the Soviet Union.⁸⁴

At the end of the 1980s, 220 surviving books with Petliura Library stamps identified in Minsk were 'returned' to Kyiv rather than to Paris. Recently the Russian State Library is finding a few more books from the Petliura Library, and scattered periodical issues are among the archival materials from its pre-war collections now held in two archives in Moscow and two in Kyiv. In 2000 Russian archivists refused to return the administrative records of the Petliura Library remaining in the former Special Archive (now RGVA) that were listed among the archival fonds of French provenance claimed by France. Also on the list of official French claims—but held back from restitution—were several groups of files from Ukrainian émigré organizations in Paris that were held by the Petliura Library before the war, including editorial records of the Ukrainian émigré journal *Tryzub*, whose office was housed in that library. Additional records of the Petliura Library and scattered files of other émigré groups created in France collected by the Library before the war are located across the city of Moscow in the State Archive of the Russian Federation—GARF.⁸⁵

GARF also holds two fonds with important fragments of the Paris administrative files and even prewar catalogues of the Turgenev Library.⁸⁶ Those twice-plundered records of the Turgenev Library and more of those from the Petliura Library that are still held in GARF have yet to be considered for restitution and did not appear on the Franco-Russian restitution list. At that point, no formal claim had been filed by the French side, which will now undoubtedly be necessary. Russian archivists tend to believe that 'archival Rossica' should be kept in Russia and balk about its restitution, even if it was created in emigration and seized by the Nazis during the war.⁸⁷ Recently I have

⁸⁴ These are all documented in my forthcoming study of the Turgenev Library (note 6).

⁸⁵ Descriptions of all of the archival fonds as currently organized in both RGVA and GARF are listed in Grimsted, 'The Postwar Fate of the Petliura Library' (note 8).

⁸⁶ Fragmentary administrative records of the Turgenev Library, together with stray issues of several émigré journals confiscated by the Nazis from Paris, are currently held in GARF, fond 6846 (141 files), and a few additional files relating to books borrowed by Russian soldiers at the end of World War I are held separately in fond 6162 (13 files).

⁸⁷ See my recent report on the Russian retrieval of archival Rossica, 'Tsel' vyivleniia zarubezhnoi arkhivnoi Rossiki: politika ili kul'tura?', in *Zarubezhnaia arkhivnaia Rossika: itogi i perspektivy*

confirmation that approximately eighteen additional files from the Turgenev Library's own records are held among unprocessed 'trophy' reserves in the Manuscript Division of the Russian State Library, but they are not open for examination.⁸⁸ Given the fact that these materials arrived with postwar 'trophy' shipments, a formal claim from Paris may be necessary for their retrieval, along with a claim for the thousands of books from Paris still in that same library.

Before 2001, information about the Turgenev Library holdings in RGB was not openly available, and even RGB librarians were not aware of all their holdings. An article by a specialist in the Ministry of Culture suggested in the fall of 2000 that such data was 'locked away with seven seals'.⁸⁹ Soon after that article appeared and the Ministry of Culture issued orders (and provided support) for the description of 'trophy' library holdings, the Russian State Library is now openly admitting its 'trophy' holdings and undertaking costly efforts to identify them and document whence they came.

When the French archival claims were filed in Russia in the 1990s, specialists in Paris were still unaware of those Ukrainian émigré materials in Moscow. When a preliminary list of fonds in the Special Archive was prepared in Moscow, Russian archivists erroneously identified the fonds of the Petliura Library and other Paris Ukrainian émigré organizations as of provenance in Ukraine. Most of those fonds in GARF were listed publicly for the first time in 1998 as part of the archive's 'Rossica' holdings, but their provenance was not identified. They were subsequently identified and described in my article on the fate of the Petliura Library.⁹⁰ In the year 2000 a guide appeared in Moscow covering the holdings of the Russian Foreign Historical Archive (RZIA) in Prague that were transferred to Moscow as a 'gift' to the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in 1946. When work started on that guide in 1989 archivists in TsGAOR SSSR had the fond containing the archive of

vyiavleniia i vozvrashcheniia. Materialy Mezhdunarodnoi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii, 16–17 noiabria 2000 g., Moskva, ed. Vladimir P. Kozlov (Moscow, Rosarkhiv, Rossiiskoe obshchestvo istorikov-arkhivistov, 2001); an expanded English version of my study is in preparation.

⁸⁸ As described to me in September 2001, approximately three additional partially processed archival boxes (ca. 18 files) remain in the Manuscript Division of the Russian State Library. As of spring 2002, pending further processing, I have still not been permitted to examine these files.

⁸⁹ Nikolai Petrovskii, 'Po sledam Turgenevskoi biblioteki', *Ekho planety*, no. 47 (November 2000), p. 30.

⁹⁰ *Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii: putevoditel'*, vol. 6: *Perechen' fondov Gosudarstvennogo arkhiva Rossiiskoi Federatsii i nauchno-spravochnyi apparat k dokumentam arkhiva*, ed. S. V. Mironenko (Moscow, 1998). They were also listed in an appendix of a monograph by Andrei V. Popov, *Russkoe zarubezh'e i arkhivy: dokumenty rossiiskoi emigratsii v arkhivakh Moskvy: problemy vyiavleniia, komplektovaniia, opisaniia, ispol'zovaniia* (Moscow, 1998), pp. 250–53, passim. Those fonds will be described in more detail in the forthcoming guide to émigré fonds in GARF. For the Ukrainian ones from Paris, see Grimsted, 'The Postwar Fate of the Petliura Library' (note 8), pp. 410–13.

the Turgenev Library listed as having come from RZIA in Prague. After my explanation that the files came from Paris with evidence of Turgenev Library book stamps, GARF archivists dropped them from the RZIA guide.⁹¹

Numerous international conventions and resolutions, including those of the United Nations and UNESCO, the International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA), and the International Council on Archives (ICA) call for the return of displaced cultural property to the country of origin. One of the conditions Russia signed in 1996 when it was admitted to the Council of Europe called for the return of cultural property of member States. But unfortunately those international legal instruments have not yet helped bring home many of the 'trophy' books and archives that still remain in Russia.

The case of the Slavic libraries in Paris is different to the extent that one would hope there would be more goodwill from the 'homelands' involved, especially today following the collapse of the Soviet Union, when all three Slavic nations are seeking reintegration with the lost and earlier exiled culture of the diaspora. Those three libraries represent cultural centers for Russians, Ukrainians, and Poles in Paris, where they were founded and have a long history and important traditions. Earlier they may have protected and preserved for posterity exiled elements of cultural and political history. Before the collapse of the Soviet Union, they may have served as centers of opposition to the Communist regime that went to great lengths to seal itself off from its exiles and dissidents, yet simultaneously trying to keep track of them. Today they could all serve as potential centers for strengthening and enriching Russian, Ukrainian, and Polish ties with the diaspora.

In contrast to the lack of close ties with the homeland for the Russian and Ukrainian Libraries, the Polish Library in Paris has had direct ties with the Polish Academy in Cracow since the end of the nineteenth century. As a result, during the interwar period it became an important cultural center abroad for the newly reconstituted Polish Republic. More recently, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, it is resuming its former academic ties with the Cracow Academy, and the Biblioteka Narodowa has also been providing professional assistance for what they consider an important outpost of Polish culture in the French capital.

Recently, a few Ukrainian colleagues in Kyiv who have heard about the sad fate of the Petliura Library books and archives in the Soviet Union have suggested their willingness to assist that library in Paris regain its displaced holdings that survive in former Soviet repositories. But the question arises as to whether or not the Ukrainian émigré community in Paris today has adequate resources today to reprocess and preserve those library and archival materi-

⁹¹ *Fondy RZIA* (note 68). One of the compilers, Tatiana F. Pavlova, kindly showed me the list and arranged my access to the records in the archive then still known as TsGAOR SSSR.

als, or if there is another suitable repository for preservation in Paris. Today, at least some Russian colleagues understand the importance of the Turgenev Library in Paris and want to help retrieve its lost collections. The 118 books transferred from GOPB in Moscow are a good example, as is the appeal of the Moscow Historical Library director that all Turgenev Library books in the former Soviet Union should be returned to Paris, even if at present the modest library accommodations hardly befit its past glory. In the post-Soviet epoch these Slavic émigré libraries cannot survive their tragic dispersal during World War II without good cultural relations with—and assistance from—the home country. But those libraries also need the support of a strong and active émigré community in Paris, such as existed before the Second World War and whose intellectual focus included the libraries, and when in turn the rich and illustrious library holdings gave the libraries greater potential for good relations with the émigré communities in France. Today, to be sure, they would benefit considerably from renewed French government assistance, such as the municipal support the Turgenev Library enjoyed before World War II.

The half-century denial that thousands of books from the Turgenev Library were in fact held by the former Lenin State Library and the ‘non-existence’ of documentation about their arrival amidst the vast shipments of cultural ‘trophy compensation’ was part of the Soviet cover-up of the tragic postwar fate of the Paris libraries. Why should books from the Petliura Library found in Minsk have been ‘returned’ to Kyiv instead of Paris? Or why should books with stamps of the Turgenev Library in Paris transferred with Nazi wartime loot from Silesia to Minsk be presented to Orel rather than to Paris? We know why Soviet authorities wanted memorials to the Polish revolutionary movement returned to Warsaw rather than Paris in the 1950s. But whether or not today those treasures, or at least part of them, should remain in Warsaw is a difficult question that will have to be resolved between the émigré community and specialists in the home country. Certainly there will be little argument for the return of any more to Paris before the library there can complete its renovation and reopen adequate facilities to preserve the Polish treasures it lost to the Nazis and to better serve as a vibrant center of Polish culture abroad.

Some émigrés today may prefer to see their personal libraries and the archival legacy earlier preserved in exile reunited in archives in the home country—now that Ukraine has achieved independence, or now that the Russian Federation is no longer part of the Soviet Union. Such should be their individual choice. However, as long as there is an émigré community in Paris, its strength and vitality, together with its cultural heritage, can be important to Russia or to the newly independent Ukrainian nation. Petliura himself, not long before his assassination in Paris, pronounced his belief that a strong library and cultural center is essential to an émigré community.

Approximately thirty percent of the prewar collections of the Polish Library

and related Mickiewicz Museum have come home from their wartime odyssey. Another thirty percent have been identified in Warsaw, although the rest is still missing. Poland understood the importance of the Paris library when it returned the books that were found in Poland immediately after the war in 1947 and started professional library assistance in 1992. The Biblioteka Narodowa has been collaborating in the publication of a scholarly journal and series of manuscript catalogues and staged an exhibition about the Paris library in 1994–1995. To be sure, the Polish Library in Paris retains full independence and resists any attempts at political or cultural control from Warsaw.⁹² The Polish Library is the oldest, richest in holdings, and now best supported of the three. Although currently closed for major renovation of its historic building on the Ile-St-Louis it nonetheless provides a constructive example for the other two in terms of relations with the homeland.

At a reception in the Hotel de Ville honoring the 125th Anniversary of the Turgenev Library last January, Paris Mayor Jean Tiberi acknowledged a gift of 500 newly published Russian books from Moscow Mayor Iurii Luzhkov. Those new books were duly appreciated by the library and displayed in the French capital. However, the Russian delegation of eight who arrived from Moscow for the colloquium on that occasion could not bring even one symbolic volume of the promised 118 books with prewar Turgenev Library stamps from the former Library of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism (now GOPB). Significantly at the Colloquium a representative of the Russian State Library revealed for the first time that 3,400 books with Turgenev Library stamps had been identified in the former Lenin Library (earlier such holdings were denied). A year later in spring 2002 that total has risen from 8,000 to 10,000 volumes. The Moscow library, with support from the Ministry of Culture, is preparing an electronic catalogue with even more detail about their holdings from the Paris library than GPIB prepared in the 1950s for its even more extensive holdings from the Polish Library in Paris that were subsequently returned to Warsaw. Whether more of those books will be candidates for 'homecoming' to the French capital has now become a more open question.

A year after the anniversary the 118 books from GOPB found in Poland were formally transferred to the president and secretary-general of the Turgenev Library in a ceremony in Moscow on 12 February 2002. The transfer was attended by the the First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Aleksandr Avdeev (now the Russian Ambassador in Paris),

⁹² See the series *Akta Towarzystwa Historyczno-Literackiego w Paryżu* (Paris, 1991–2000), 5 vols; and the series of manuscript catalogues in note 9. The annual reports in successive volumes of the *Akta* give details about the professional assistance of the Biblioteka Narodowa, including listings of the archives, support for publications, microfilming and conservation. See also the brochure about the exhibit prepared by Ewa Markiewicz, *Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu i jej zbiory* (Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, 1994, 1995).

who emphasized how appropriate it was that such displaced cultural treasures 'should be returned to their legitimate owners'. He was joined by a representative of the Government of the City of Moscow, and representatives from the Ministry of Culture and other major Russian libraries, all of whom appeared to appreciate the historic role of the Turgenev Library in Paris.

Ironically, because those 118 books were a 'gift' from Poland to the Communist Party of the USSR in the 1980s, they could be exported under current laws of the Russian Federation without approval of the Duma or the new Restitution Council. We can only hope that the symbolic 'gesture of goodwill' involved in their return will be an example to other libraries and to other political and cultural leaders in the 'new' Russia and other former Soviet republics. Now in a new century, over sixty years since their confiscation, is it not time at last for more missing books from the three Paris Slavic libraries to come home from the war?

Postscript: Russian Legal Bases for Restitution⁹³

It has taken ten years since the revelations about displaced cultural treasures for the Russian Federation to develop a legal basis and procedures for processing restitution claims, but still most of the trophy cultural property and archives held in Russia have not been openly described. The chairman of the Federal Archival Service of Russia (Rosarkhiv) Vladimir Kozlov boasted to me in late September 2001 that Russia is the only country that has a law regulating restitution. My answer should have been that Russia is the only country that really needs one! But we should recognize that the law that took effect in April 1998, while there are limited provisions for restitution, is basically a law nationalizing the cultural treasures brought to the USSR after the war.⁹⁴

⁹³ For more details about recent legal and procedural developments in Russia with respect to restitution, see the first sections of my article, 'Russia's Trophy Archives: Still Prisoners of World War II?' (see note 1). What follows is a brief summary. The official texts of all of the Russian legal instruments referred to below now appear electronically at the VGBIL website for restitution issues at <http://www.libfl.ru/restitution/law/index.html>. References below are to the official published Russian texts. English translations of most of them appear at the website of the Commission for Art Recovery in New York at <http://www.comartrecovery.org>, under 'policies—Russia'.

⁹⁴ For the background and political context of the Russian law, see Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire* (note 1), especially chapter 11. The full text of the law appears as 'O kul'turnykh tsennostyakh, peremeshchennykh v Soiuz SSR v rezul'tate Vtoroi mirovoi voyny i nakhodiashchikhsia na territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii' (signed 15 April 1998–64-FZ), in *Sobranie zakonodatel'stva Rossiiskoi Federatsii*, no. 16 (20 April 1998), statute 1879. The Constitutional Court decision is printed in *ibid.*, no. 30 (26 August 1999), statute 3989. See the statements by the then Minister of Culture, Vladimir Egorov, and several museum leaders in 'Nachinaem restituivat', no Germanii ne dadim nichego', *Kommersant*, no. 127 (21 July 1999), p. 10, and 'Spravedlivoie reshenie v nespravedlivykh obstoiatel'stvakh', *Kul'tura*, no. 27 (29 July–4 August 1999), p. 1.

The latest version of the law (signed by President Putin with amendments in May 2000) reinforces the prohibition of restitution of cultural property to Germany and the Axis powers. At the same time, it provides for the potential restitution of cultural treasures under specified conditions from countries that fought against the Nazi regime and from those victimized by the Nazis.⁹⁵ Specified conditions for restitution include provisions for high financial charges by the Russian side, including storage, appraisal, and processing fees. In the case of archives, the Federal Archival Service of Russia (Rosarkhiv) has also been requiring proprietary countries claiming their archives to pay high costs for them to be microfilmed before their return, in addition to related fees, and Rosarkhiv has also been trying to force all claimants to turn over any archival materials of Russian provenance, even those that may remain in private hands. In reality, this amounts to the fact that foreign nations and individuals must 'repurchase' or 'barter' for their cultural property seized first by the Nazis and then by Soviet authorities after the war.

An implementing Regulation (*postanovlenie*) of the Government of the Russian Federation (2 December 2000—no. 913) puts the Ministry of Culture in charge of processing restitution matters. Subsequently, another Government Regulation (11 March 2001—no. 174) established and named the members of a new Inter-agency Council on Restitution with offices under the Ministry of Culture. Each act of restitution must now be approved by the new Inter-agency Council. Once it has been approved by the Council and an appropriate agreement with the holding repository (usually RGVA for archives) with the approval of Rosarkhiv is in place, a *postanovlenie* (regulation) of the Government is still required for export.⁹⁶

In the spring of 2001 the Ministry of Culture issued a *prikaz* ordering all cultural institutions to undertake a full accounting of their trophy holdings (including archives) in a consolidated database. Initial plans call for the database to be completed by the end of 2002, but as things appeared in Moscow in spring 2002, that date is as unrealistic as is it is to expect the identification of all displaced treasures. The Ministry plans to open its website with some initial descriptions early in the summer of 2002. How long it will take to complete identification in all repositories is impossible to estimate. If listing of individual library volumes is required, how long will it take to describe the millions of 'trophy' books dispersed throughout the Russian Federation? Rosarkhiv published (with German subsidy) a preliminary list of record groups in the former Speical Archive (now part of RGVA) at the end of 2001, which is incomplete

⁹⁵ The text of the new amendments—'O vnesenii izmenenii i dopolnenii v Federal'nyi zakon "O kul'turnykh tsennostiakh, peremeshchennykh v Soiuz SSR v rezul'tate Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i nakhodiashchikhsia na territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii"' (signed 25 May 2000, no. 70-FZ) appears in *Sobranie zakonodatel'stva RF*, no. 22 (29 May 2000), statute 2259.

⁹⁶ See the electronic versions as referenced above (note 88).

and totally inadequate for researcher use, let alone for the establishment of any foreign claims.⁹⁷ How long will it take and who will prepare a more revealing sequel? And to what extent is Rosarkhiv prepared to list and acknowledge 'trophy' holdings in other federal archival repositories?

Once a special catalogue from the database is published, 'foreign countries or individual citizens will have 18 months to file claims in accordance with the Federal Law on Displaced Cultural Treasures'. Those not claimed will be registered as federal property. It is not clear to what extent repositories will (or even will be obliged to) describe all cultural valuables that are already registered as state property. Many books and archival materials seized by Soviet authorities after the war—many of them still bearing clearly distinguishing stamps or other markings of ownership—were in fact integrated into the main holdings of state libraries and archives. Yet claims in such cases are nonetheless anticipated by the Ministry of Culture, as is apparent in the directives issued recently.⁹⁸ Without formal claims and significant 'barter', however, restitution is unlikely for cultural property in state repositories that come under the purview of the new laws. 'Gestures of goodwill' can be anticipated only in exceptional cases, and usually connected to some high-level political purpose or showcase.

As of spring 2002 under the new procedures, only one act of 'restitution' of art has been approved—the return of the medieval stained glass panels from the Marienkirche in Frankfurt-on-Oder. A federal law of 17 April 2002 approved the initial 2001 Council action, but given the complex restitution process, and the political sensitivities at every stage, it will take several years to implement. In 2001, the Council approved the restitution of three sets of archives, and all but part of the second have been transferred. First, a personal claim for the return of the Rothschild family papers from Vienna was approved in May 2001, although that case involved elaborate 'barter' rather than restitution. As agreed, the Rothschild family offered in exchange a collection of 5,170 documents including love letters from Russian Emperor Alexander II to his morganatic wife Ekaterina Iur'eva (née Dolgorukova) purchased from Christie's. After over three years of negotiation on 30 November 2001 the director of the Rothschild Archive flew home to London with the remaining papers of the Austrian branch of the family. A second case involving 31 fonds of provenance in the Netherlands, also in the former Special Archive (now RGVA) was approved after ten years of negotiation with a proclamation by President Putin at the time of the visit of Queen Beatrix in June 2001. The official transfer

⁹⁷ *Ukazatel' fondov inostrannogo proiskhozhdeniia i Glavnogo upravleniia po delam voennoplennykh i internirovannykh NKVD-MVD SSSR Rossiiskogo gosudarstvennogo voennogo arkhiva*, comp. V. I. Korotaev, A. P. Naganov et al.; ed. V. P. Kozlov and V. N. Kuzelenkov (Moscow, 2001).

⁹⁸ Copies of the implementing regulations issued by the Ministry of Culture were provided to me in Moscow during the summer of 2001.

finally took place in The Hague on 30 January 2002, but as of May 2002, nine fonds were still withheld for further 'expert examination' by the Russian side, including major files of Dutch Feminist, Jewish, and Masonic organizations, at least part of which have already been well described by Dutch experts.

The Inter-agency Council approved the restitution of Belgian archives from RGVA at the end of August 2001, and a decree issued in November by the Ministry of Culture provided for the return of 40 fonds, which took place amidst much publicity in late May 2002. The printed archival materials and books claimed by Belgium from the same archive, however, were still under negotiation. Examination of materials of alleged Belgian provenance in other Russian archives, including many socialist files transferred to the former Central Party Archive (now RGASPI) and the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF), has not yet been possible. Negotiations regarding still displaced archives with Austria, Greece, Luxembourg, Poland, and other countries are also pending. Thus far, besides the still unaccepted part of the Belgian claim, there have been no formal claims for the restitution of library materials from Western European countries, and the 118 books from the Turgenev Library in Paris is the only recent 'gesture of goodwill' in terms of restitution in the library world since 1992.

БИБЛИОТЕКА РУССКАЯ
ТОУРГУЕНЕВ

Российская библиотека
и архивохранилище
С. П. ПЕТЛОВА

1901

34.866

БИБЛИОТЕКА
ТОУРГУЕНЕВ
18, Rue de la Bucherie, 9

БИБЛИОТЕКА
Д.О. 1863
48. N 3915

АСАДЕНА
1931

БИБЛИОТЕКА
EXAMINER
SIMON
PETLURA
A PARIS

БИБЛИОТЕКА РУССКАЯ
ТОУРГУЕНЕВ
18, Rue de la Bucherie, PARIS

34.866

БИБЛИОТЕКА РУССКАЯ
ТОУРГУЕНЕВ

18, Rue de la Bucherie, PARIS

ИСКРА

Центральный Орган Российской Социал-демократической Рабочей Партии

№ 87. 1904 г.

Рубль IV

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7. О работе партии в 1904 г.	8. О работе партии в 1904 г.	9. О работе партии в 1904 г.
10. О работе партии в 1904 г.	11. О работе партии в 1904 г.	12. О работе партии в 1904 г.

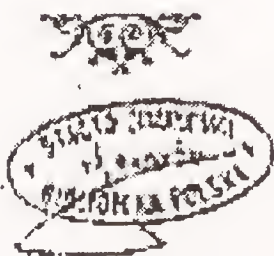
ALFRED NOSSIG.

Jan Prorok

Opowieść

na tle galicyjskiem z roku 1830

w dziesięciu księgach.



L w d w.
Wydawnictwo Księgarni Pedagogicznej.
1932.



Рк ШБ (2-4к)

В64

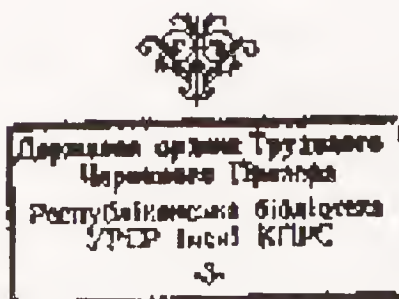
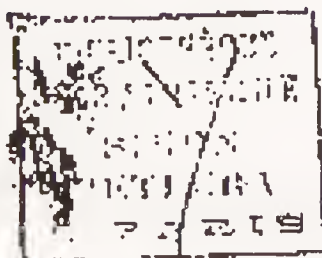
ВИДАННЯ СОЮЗА ВИЗВОЛЕННЯ УКРАЇНИ

ПАМ'ЯТИ ІВАНА ФРАНКА

(ОПИС ЖИТТЯ, ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ Й ПОХОРОНУ)

ЗЛАДАН

МИХАЙЛО ВОЗНЯК



ВІДЕНЬ, 1916.

НАКЛАДОМ „СОЮЗА ВИЗВОЛЕННЯ УКРАЇНИ“

в друкарні Алоїсія Гольдшмідта у Відні

Малоизвестные исследования по изучению крымоведческой библиографии в последней трети XIX—первой трети XX века

А.А. Непомнящий

В полиэтничном Крыму постоянно проявлялся интерес к истории и этнографии многочисленных народов, населявших этот край в различные эпохи. Однако только в последние годы появилась возможность объективно представить все научное и художественное наследие многочисленных крымских этносов. Современным поколением библиографов прилагаются значительные усилия для воссоздания ретроспективной библиографии крымоведения, истории изучения Крыма в основных отечественных и зарубежных научных центрах.¹ В связи с этим представляют интерес малоизвестные библиографические справочники, информация о которых по различным причинам оставалась недоступной. История библиографии является частью библиографоведения, которая изучает ход развития библиографии и служит познанию ее закономерностей. История библиографии является вместе с тем и компонентом истории духовной культуры общества. Она непосредственно связана с историей библиотечного дела, издательского дела, журналистики, науки, просвещения. Предмет историко-библиографических исследований определяется как библиографическая деятельность с ее основными характеристиками: субъектом, предметом, способами, целями, процессами и результатами.²

В нашем исследовании рассматривается корпус малоизвестных рукописных библиографических источников, посвященных вопросам историко-этнографического изучения Крыма. Последовательно охарактеризованы ретроспективные, систематические и отраслевые библиографические пособия.

История опубликованного библиографического наследия сравнительно недавно стала объектом внимания специалистов, так как в досоветское время оно практически не изучалось. Еще менее известными для исследователей остаются работы, связанные с изучением Крыма,

¹ *Непомнящий А.А.* Крымоведческие историко-этнографические исследования в Москве (2 пол. XIX—начало XX века): историко-библиографическое исследование // Библиотечное дело и краеведение. Сборник научных трудов. — Киев; Симферополь, 2000. — Вып. 2, с. 83—129; Его же. История и этнография народов Крыма: библиография и архивы (конец XVIII—начало XX века). — Симферополь: Доля, 2001. — 816 с.

² *Пашкова В.* Теоретико-методологічні засади вивчення історії галузевої бібліографії в Україні // Вісник Книжкової палати. — 1998. — № 7, с. 7—10 (с. 7).

сохранившиеся только в рукописном виде. Ряд ценных научных справочно-библиографических разработок по крымоведению, поэтому до сегодняшнего дня остаются неизвестными даже для специалистов и, следовательно, не могут быть использованы. В связи с этим особенное значение приобретают неопубликованные библиографические разработки второй половины XIX—первой трети XX века.

Среди них, прежде всего, несомненный интерес представляет биобиблиографический словарь по крымоведению, составленный в 1880-х годах неизвестным автором.³ Этот библиографический источник впервые введен нами в научный оборот.⁴ В рукописном виде этот труд был представлен для рецензирования, а возможно, и публикации в Русское географическое общество (г. С.-Петербург) в 1880-х годах. Так и оставшийся в рукописи справочник сохранился в архиве Русского географического общества. Хронологически в нем охвачены работы с XIII века до середины 80-х годов XIX столетия. Приведены достаточно подробные биографические справки об историках Крыма разных эпох (например, очерк об арабском географе и путешественнике XIV века Абулфеде, оставившем описание Крыма); большей части исследователей полуострова конца XVIII—XIX века. Библиографический словарь, подготовленный примерно за 10 лет до выхода в свет первого выпуска универсального крымоведческого справочника 'TAURICA' Арс. И. Маркевича, содержит не только библиографические очерки, но и оценки творчества указанных краеведов Крыма, библиографию трудов этих и сотен других исследователей, не удостоенных библиографической справки, перечень известных составителю рецензий на данные труды, списки литературы о жизни и деятельности наиболее крупных фигур исторической науки Крыма того времени. Справочник содержит богатейшую библиографию зарубежных книг о Крыме, зачастую с краткими но емкими характеристиками об их научных ценностях. В частности, хорошо представлена немецкая и французская крымоведческая литература — труды Baron Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, Wilhelm von Heyd, Jacques Victor Edouard Taitbout de Marigny — и путевые записки английской дамы Theresa Grey.⁵ По концентрации указаний историко-краеведческих материалов данный труд и сегодня не потерял актуальности. Однако проверка нами ряда библиографических

³ Архив Русского географического общества, разряд 39, дело 20, л. 1—123.

⁴ *Непомнящий А.А.* Записки путешественников и путеводители в развитии исторического краеведения Крыма (последняя треть XVIII—начало XX века). — Киев, 1999, с. 17, 39—41 (Научно-справочные издания по истории Украины, вып. 46). *Непомнящий А.А.* Малоизвестные библиографические собрания по истории этнографии народов Крыма — важный источник для подготовки капитальной крымоведческой библиографии (конец XVIII—1920 год) // Библиотечное дело и краеведение. — Киев; Симферополь, 1999, с. 60—70.

⁵ The Hon. Mrs William Grey, *Journal of a Visit to Egypt, Constantinople, the Crimea, Greece, &c. in the suite of the Prince and Princess of Wales* (London, 1869).

справок выявила большое количество ошибок (описок) составителя.

В немногочисленном ряду крымских библиографов ведущее место принадлежит замечательному деятелю, подвижнику краеведения Крыма Арсению Ивановичу Маркевичу (1855—1942). Его 'Опыт указателя книг и статей, касающихся Крыма и Таврической губернии вообще' 'TAURICA' до сих пор является лучшим универсальным библиографическим пособием. Три выпуска его увидели свет соответственно в 1894, 1898 и 1902 годы. Но и следующие десятилетия своей жизни краевед продолжал, по мере сил, несмотря на ослепший глаз, заниматься библиографией и пополнять свою крымоведческую картотеку. В это время ученый занимался только теми отделами, которые были связаны с его научными занятиями: история, археология, этнография и география. Он учитывал доступную ему литературу на русских и европейских языках (английский, итальянский, латинский, немецкий, польский, французский, чешский, шведский). Составитель свободно владел лишь немецким языком. Немецкие названия представлены им наиболее верно. Французские названия содержат большое количество ошибок. Книги на восточных языках почти полностью выпали из производимой А.И. Маркевичем каталогизации в связи с их недоступностью. К 1929 году Арсений Иванович подготовил 4-ый выпуск 'TAURICA', объемом 16 печатных листов, в котором собрал литературу по топонимике полуострова. Этот труд остался не опубликованным, так как не смогли найти заинтересованное издательство. Да и сама атмосфера заката 'Золотого десятилетия советского краеведения' не благоприятствовала изданию подобной работы. Судьба данной рукописи неизвестна. Картотека же была продана Арсением Ивановичем Институту истории материальной культуры в Ленинграде,⁶ куда ученый вскоре перебрался к дочке на постоянное место жительства.

Сохранились крымоведческие картотеки и других ученых, которые занимались изучением различных аспектов истории Крыма и составленные ими библиографии имели практическую направленность — использовались при написании научных статей, связанных с историей Крыма. Так, собрание библиографических карточек Митрофана Викторовича Довнар-Запольского (1867—1934), профессора университета Святого Владимира в Киеве, организатора Боспорского университета в Керчи в 1920 г., хранится в его личном фонде в Центральном государственном историческом архиве Украины в г. Киеве.⁷ Значительное место в нем занимают литовские источники по истории Крымского ханства, библиография литературы о внешнеполитических отношениях Крыма с Великим Княжеством Литовским, Польшей и Московским государством.

⁶ Институт истории материальной культуры РАН. Рукописный архив. (Далее: ИИМК), ф. 32 (Картотека).

⁷ Центральний державний історичний архів України, Київ, ф. 262, оп. 1, дела 130—143.

Не менее интересно библиографическое собрание Никодима Павловича Кондакова (1844—1925), профессора Новороссийского университета, а затем сотрудника императорского Эрмитажа, под названием ‘Таврическая губерния’⁸ содержит сведения о литературе, связанной с культурой античного и средневекового Крыма, развитием архитектуры в Крымском ханстве, персоналиями архитекторов, состоянии строительного дела на Южном берегу Крыма в XIX веке. Для специалистов в области ориенталистики несомненный интерес вызовут сохранившиеся два ящика с библиографическими карточками — собрание известного отечественного тюрколога, профессора Санкт-Петербургского университета Василия Дмитриевича Смирнова (1846—1922). Научные интересы историка сосредоточились на истории Турции и Крымского ханства. В.Д. Смирнов стал автором фундаментальных трудов по истории средневекового Крыма, равных которым по научной ценности, широте охвата фактологического материала, нововведенным в научный оборот источникам, нет и по сей день.⁹ Ученый, по мнению современников, являлся одним из ведущих востоковедов современности. Вот почему сохранившийся рукописный библиографический каталог ученого-ориенталиста представляет большую ценность. Библиографическая подборка посвящена источникам по истории Крымского ханства, содержит наиболее полный перечень книг восточных авторов о Крымском ханстве (прежде всего турецких), обширный перечень западноевропейских исследований, что придает каталогу особую ценность.¹⁰

Отдельный раздел рукописных библиографических справочников составляют подготовленные либо для печати, либо для научной работы систематические указатели по крымоведению. Сохранилась краеведческая картотека ведущего библиографа Крыма 1920-х гг. Виктора Басильевича Симоновского (1869—1933).¹¹ Она интересна тем, что содержит наиболее полную информацию об изданиях послереволюционного крымоведения — времени широко развернувшегося изучения народов Крыма, особенно крымских татар, с учетом проводимой политики татаризации. Картотека В.В. Симоновского — прекрасный библиографический источник о русскоязычных и крымскотатарских публикациях этого времени. Данное библиографическое собрание должно было быть опубликовано в виде отдельного справочника ‘Библиография Кры-

⁸ С.-Петербургский филиал архива Российской Академии наук (далее СПбФРАН), ф. 115, оп. 8, дело 104, л. 1—270.

⁹ Смирнов В.Д. Крымское ханство под верховенством Османской Порты до начала XVIII века. — СПб., 1887; Его же. Крымское ханство под верховенством Османской Порты в XVIII столетии. — Одесса, 1889.

¹⁰ С.-Петербургский филиал Института востоковедения РАН, ф. 50, оп. 1, дело 54.

¹¹ Государственный архив при Совете Министров Автономной Республики Крым, ф. Р-3318, оп. 1, дела 14—15.

моведения' на рубеже 1920-х—1930-х гг. Предполагалось, что первый выпуск указателя должен был составить список послереволюционной библиографии Крыма объёмом 20 печатных листов. Затем В.В. Симоновский собирался опубликовать перечень книг и содержания периодических изданий, вышедших в Крыму с 1900 по 1917 гг. на национальных языках, что составило бы второй том 'Библиографии Крымоведения'. К сожалению, данный указатель В.В. Симоновского не был опубликован. Не выявлен и подготовленный им к 1930-му году 'Указатель литературы по естественно-производительным силам Крыма'.¹²

Автором систематического библиографического указателя крымоведческой литературы в области археологии стал краевед из Севастополя, директор музея и раскопок в Херсонесе Карл Казимирович Косцюшко-Валюжинич (1847—1907). Информация об этом содержится в периодической печати тех лет¹³ и в справочных изданиях.¹⁴ Каталог был составлен на конкурс крымоведческих сочинений, объявленный Одесским обществом истории и древностей и включал более 1000 названий на русском и европейских языках. Из тех же источников известно, что К.К. Косцюшко-Валюжинич передал эту рукопись владельцу наиболее крупной частной библиотеки в Крыму С.Б. Туманову, который не вернул ее автору. Дальнейшая судьба библиографического указателя неизвестна. Вместе с тем, данное пособие было хорошо знакомо современникам не только в Крыму, но и за его пределами. Так, о нем высоко отзывался вице-президент Одесского общества истории и древностей Б.Н. Юргевич.¹⁵ Это предполагает дальнейший поиск данной работы, которая, наверняка, была размножена в нескольких экземплярах, в личных архивных фондах историков Крыма XIX века.

В 1860 г. профессор С.-Петербургского университета Николай Иванович Веселовский (1848—1918) подготовил аннотированный указатель 'Таврические губернские ведомости' за 1838—1868 г. Он сохранился в личном фонде ученого в Российском государственном архиве литературы и искусства (г. Москва).¹⁶ В это время историк работал над сбором материалов и библиографии для издания крымоведческой энциклопедии 'Крымский альбом'. Книга должна была включать информацию

¹² Максименко Ф.П. Матеріали до краєзнавчої бібліографії України 1847—1929 р.: Список бібліографічних праць, що стосуються до окремих місцевостей УСРР, Бесарабії й Криму. — Київ: Вид-во Всенародн. б-ки України при Всеукраїнськ. АН, 1930, с. 159.

¹³ Севастопольский листок. — 1887. — 22 мая.

¹⁴ Городецкий Д.Л. Крым и интерес его изучения // Новороссийский календарь на 1892 год. — Одесса, 1891. — Отд. 4, с. 29.

¹⁵ Юргевич Б.Н. Исторический очерк пятидесятилетия императорского Одесского общества истории и древностей. 1839—1889. — Одесса, 1889, с. 12.

¹⁶ Российский государственный архив литературы и искусства, ф. 118, оп. 1, дело 520, л. 1—5.

об основных исторических персоналиях Крыма, прежде всего, о крымских ханах, очерки истории народов Крыма, историю создания и деятельности музеев на полуострове, библиографию деятелей местной исторической науки, библиографию их работ.¹⁷ Выявленная подборка статей 'Таврические губернские ведомости' была подготовлена историком, скорее всего, не для отдельной публикации, а как справочно-вспомогательный материал для отдельных статей энциклопедии.

Большое значение для составления полного корпуса крымоведческой библиографии имеет изучение тематических каталогов, составленных узкими специалистами крымоведами. Занимаясь отдельными проблемами крымской истории и этнографии, ученые могли углубиться в изучение специальной литературы, поэтому собранные ими систематические списки являются наиболее полными. Специалист по древней истории Крыма Виктор Васильевич Данилевский (1898—1969) подготовил систематическую картотеку 'Библиография по истории Крыма и его водоснабжения в древний период' (хронологически заканчивается работами, датированными 1931 г.).¹⁸

Специальную библиографическую подборку, посвященную истории и этнографии крымского народа, собрал в виде картотеки историк, археолог Крыма Николай Иванович Репников (1882—1940). Она хранится в личном фонде ученого и насчитывает 149 библиографических названий.¹⁹ Основное внимание ученый уделил этнографии и археологическим памятникам крымских татар.

К рукописным библиографическим указателям можно отнести труды, информацию о которых мы имеем, но которые пока не удалось выявить ни в библиотеках, ни в архивах. Впервые о некоторых из них было заявлено в 1930 г. украинским библиографом Ф.П. Максименко (1897—1983).²⁰

Среди крымских библиографов в 1920-х гг. особое место по уровню библиографических исследований занимал Ефим Ефимович Гопштейн (1885—1960), составитель известного справочника 'Библиография библиографических указателей литературы о Крыме'.²¹

Библиограф подготовил к печати и ряд других пособий: 'Библиография периодической печати в годы революции'; 'Печать в Крыму в годы революции', включавшая издание на семи языках; 'Библиография печати в Крыму за 150 лет'; 'Библиография антисемитизма в Крыму';

¹⁷ ИИМК, ф. 18, оп. 1, дело 56, л. 1, 1 об.

¹⁸ СПбФАРАН, ф. 914, оп. 1, дело 363, л. 1—130.

¹⁹ ИИМК, ф. 10, оп. 1, дело 22, л. 1—149.

²⁰ Максименко (примечание 11), с. 158-60.

²¹ Гопштейн Е.Е. Библиография библиографических указателей литературы о Крыме. — Симферополь: Изд-во ОПИК, 1930. — 15 с.

‘Библиография еврейских земледельческих колоний’.²² Исследователь использовал при этом все доступные каталоги архивов и библиотек Крыма (общественных, краеведческих, ведомственных, личных собраний). Его работа ‘Библиография периодической печати в Крыму в годы революции’ должна была в 1930 году быть опубликована в Москве. Пока данные библиографические материалы выявить не удастся. На данный момент установлено, что часть трудов Е.Е. Гопштейна попала в собрание Еврейского этнографического музея в Ленинграде. Разыскания, проведенные нами в Центральном государственном архиве города С.-Петербурга, где хранится фонд Еврейского историко-этнографического общества, к сожалению, не дали положительных результатов.

Главный библиотекарь Крымского педагогического института Василий Михайлович Марков составил на рубеже 1920-х—1930-х гг. каталог, получивший известность среди краеведов под названием ‘Востоковедение’.²³ Он был посвящен истории и этнографии крымских татар и охватывал публикации на славянских, западноевропейских и восточных языках. В годы Великой Отечественной войны эта картотека была утрачена.

Краевед Н.Я. Нейман подготовил в конце 1920-х гг. ‘Систематический указатель литературы о караимах’, который стоял в планах на издание в 1930 г.²⁴ Поиски данной работы в центральных библиотеках пока не принесли каких-либо положительных результатов.

Остается неизвестным и местонахождение подготовленного к 1919 году феодосийским краеведом Вениамином Давыдовичем Гейманом (1887—после 1970) ‘Библиографический указатель книг и статей по Феодосии и её окрестностям’. Работа была представлена в Таврическую ученую архивную комиссию для публикации. Однако к тому времени ТУАК не располагала возможностями для осуществления этого проекта.²⁵

Неопубликованной осталась также подготовленная в 1928 году Н.П. Зиминым ‘Библиография по практике туризма и экскурсий в Крыму’.²⁶ Вполне возможно, что рукописи этой и вышеназванных работ сохранились в архивах. Они и сегодня представляют несомненный интерес для составления капитальной библиографии по истории и этнографии народов Крыма дореволюционного периода.

Использование рукописных библиографических пособий, введение их в научный оборот будет существенно способствовать выявлению как

²² Симоновский В.В. Очерк библиографической работы в Крыму // Библиография. — 1929. — № 4, с. 118—120 (с. 119).

²³ Там же.

²⁴ Там же, с. 120.

²⁵ Известия Таврической ученой архивной комиссии. — Симферополь, 1920. — № 57. — Прил., с. 33, 37.

²⁶ Максименко (примечание 12), с. 159; Зимин Н.П. Очерки экскурсионной библиографии по Крыму. Ч. 1: Путеводители // Крым. — 1928. — № 1 (5), вып. 1, с. 112—127 (с. 112).

можно более полной библиографии научного наследия краеведов Крыма. Это, в свою очередь, дает возможность представить более объективную картину изучения Крыма в то время. Вот почему все еще актуальной остается задача выявления неопубликованных, а затем утраченных библиографических списков. Подобную же задачу ставили перед собой краеведы Крыма в 1929 году, когда задумывали создать в Симферополе библиографическое общество.²⁷ Тогда одну из первостепенных задач местного краеведения они видели в выяснении судьбы и содержания тех собраний, посвященных Крыму, которые отсутствуют в библиотеках; создание 'Крымской энциклопедии', собранные материалы к которой до сих пор не удалось выявить. Дальнейший ход истории на несколько десятилетий наложили вето на объективные (обстоятельные) библиографические исследования. Важной задачей развития краеведческой библиографии Крыма на нынешнем этапе является составление полного перечня книжной крымоведческой продукции вышедшей в последней трети XVIII, XIX, первой трети XX века на всех языках, сбор материалов для биобиблиографического словаря исследователей Крыма.

²⁷ *Симоновский В.В.* Крыму нужно создать Библиографическое общество // Красный Крым. — 1929. — 16 мая.

From the Concerns of Women to the Concerns of the State: Soviet Women's Magazines 1917–1941

Alison Rowley

This article traces the history of women's magazines from the earliest days of Bolshevik power to the start of World War II. It also considers the evolution of the content of the magazines from its primary focus on Soviet women in the 1920s to the growing influence of state interests as manifested in the massive campaigns and rising devotion to the Party leadership that marked the 1930s. Soviet women's magazines are a good way of identifying the messages the regime tried to give to women as well as the expectations it had for them. What is startlingly apparent when one begins to leaf through issue after issue of these magazines is that not only were the state's policies often contradictory, but that full central control was not always exerted over regional magazines. The latter do not seem to have followed strictly the lines established by national publications for women, evidence of a complexity that has only recently attracted the attention of scholars. The following pages seek to inspire more scholars to examine Soviet women's magazines and to use them as they try to fill in some of the most glaring blank spots in Soviet historiography.

The massive size of the Soviet press for women by 1941 could hardly have been imagined when the Bolsheviks first turned their attention to working women. Before the start of World War I, both the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks organized separate publications to reach out to working class women. While the Menshevik effort, entitled *Golos rabotnitsy*, only appeared twice in 1914 before folding, the Bolshevik organ *Rabotnitsa* was to have a much longer and deeper impact. *Rabotnitsa* grew out of the success of a column in *Pravda* set up by Konkordiia Samoilova. It described factory life in vivid detail and soon sparked off dozens of letters from readers.¹ The response indicated that a separate organ for women was needed, and soon other leading female Bolsheviks, both in Russia and abroad, were involved in the project. Soviet sources insist that Lenin was firmly behind the project and three of the six women on *Rabotnitsa*'s initial editorial board—Nadezhda Krupskaya, Inessa Armand and Anna Elizarova—did have the closest of personal ties to him.² More recently, Carter

¹ Barbara Clements suggests that once the number of letters *Pravda* received from women exceeded its ability to print them all, Samoilova felt she could argue for a separate women's publication. See her *Bolshevik Feminist* (Bloomington, 1979), p. 78.

² One Soviet source even credits Lenin with the idea of founding *Rabotnitsa* and omits any discussion of Samoilova's efforts. See E. Bochkareva and C. Liubimov, *Svetlyi put'* (Moscow, 1967), p. 37. Members of *Rabotnitsa*'s first editorial board included Lenin's wife Nadezhda Krupskaya,

Elwood's work on Inessa Armand³ suggests that Lenin was merely lukewarm to the project, but whatever Lenin's role may actually have been, the first issue of *Rabotnitsa* was published in St Petersburg, timed to coincide with International Women's Day (8 March) in 1914. The magazine's initial print run was 12,000 copies and there were seven issues before the publication was banned by the Tsarist police after the start of World War I.

The editors of *Rabotnitsa* sought to convince women that their interests lay with the rest of the working class. The articles had female subjects, but they did not separate them from the overall struggles of the working class. When the publication re-emerged in May 1917, it played an active role in the lives of its readers by organizing meetings and mobilizing them to participate in protests devoted to the issues of inflation, war profiteering and continuing food shortages.⁴ A readership was built up in Petrograd, and some copies of *Rabotnitsa* circulated in other urban centers,⁵ but the publication again ceased for several years as the Party was forced to trim its list of publications owing to shortages of newsprint and ink during the Civil War years.⁶ Once the shortages became less severe, *Rabotnitsa* resumed publication, moved its offices to Moscow, and was joined by several new central publications for women. With the addition of *Krest'ianka*, *Batrachka*, *Delegatka*, and *Kommunistka*, the Soviet women's press was firmly established at the national level and began to reach out to several distinct readerships.

As the leading publication for Soviet women, *Rabotnitsa* set the tone for the others and acted as an umbrella for all types of reader. Officially it was a publication for working women and the wives of male workers, but each issue also contained references to the peasantry. The main organ for Soviet peasant women, *Krest'ianka*, began publication in 1922. In the 1920s, both magazines sought to encourage women to take a more active role outside the home whether that meant participation in local governing bodies, working in

his close friend Inessa Armand, and one of his sisters, Anna Elizarova. The other members of *Rabotnitsa*'s editorial board were Liudmila Stal', Samoilova, and Elena Rozmirovich.

³ See R. C. Elwood, *Inessa Armand: Revolutionary and Feminist* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 105–107, 115–124; and his 'Lenin's Correspondence with Inessa Armand', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 65 (1987), p. 227.

⁴ Jane McDermid and Anna Hillyar, *Women and Work in Russia 1880–1930: A Study in Continuity through Change* (London, 1998), p. 162.

⁵ Clements found that copies of *Rabotnitsa* reached as far as Barnaul in Siberia. Barbara Clements, *Bolshevik Women* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 131–32.

⁶ The shortages were acute. According to Jeffrey Brooks, 'The quantity of paper and cardboard produced fell to a low of less than 10 percent of 1913 levels during 1919–21, and the industry recovered gradually, reaching the 1913 level only in 1928/29'. See his 'The Breakdown in Production and Distribution of Printed Material, 1917–1927' in *Bolshevik Culture*, edited by A. Gleason, P. Kenéz and R. Stites (Bloomington, 1985), p. 154. Even the most important central newspapers were forced to cut their consumption of paper. *Pravda* and *Izvestiia* had to cut their issues from 4–6 pages to 2 pages. See Peter Kenéz, *The Birth of the Propaganda State: Soviet Methods of Mass Mobilization, 1917–1929* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 45.

a factory or collective farm, or merely learning to read. Every issue had articles and photographs of ordinary women doing such things. Other changes in everyday life came from the promises made by the new regime. Over and over readers were shown photospreads of daycare facilities and cafeterias. As umbrella publications trying to reach all women, *Rabotnitsa* and *Krest'ianka* did not shun certain groups in society. Even as late as 1933 peasant women who were not members of collective farms appeared on the pages of *Krest'ianka* without some sort of insult or slur in the caption of the photograph.⁷ The main message of both *Rabotnitsa* and *Krest'ianka* was positive but gradual self-improvement and change. The women who were the subject of the many articles and photographs were average Soviet citizens, recognizable to the readers as their neighbors, co-workers and relatives. At the same time, the emphasis was primarily on the women themselves rather than on the Party leadership. There were far fewer references to Party figures in the 1920s than there would be in the following decade.

The same themes of self-improvement and the reconstruction of everyday life can be seen in the other national publications for women as well as some regional magazines. Of the national publications for women, *Batrachka* was the only one not originally associated with the Zhenotdel (Women's Department)⁸ and the only one that was not distributed as an independent publication. Instead, from 1925 to 1927, *Batrachka* was published as a supplement to the newspaper *Batrak* and later became an organ of the Central Committee of the Union of Workers of the Lands and Forests of the USSR. Despite its official separation from the other magazines, on most issues *Batrachka* followed a similar line to *Krest'ianka*. There was a small, but significant, difference in intended audience though. *Batrachka* aimed at gaining support for the regime from a certain segment of the peasantry. The poorest peasant women were informed that they should not be ashamed of their poverty, but take advantage of the chances for improvement and upward social mobility offered by the Soviets. It was hoped by Soviet authorities that the women would then become some of the regime's strongest backers in the countryside. *Batrachka* had a militant tone to its headlines and articles that was not always seen in *Krest'ianka*. The readers of *Batrachka* were told not to view the peasantry as a whole with common interests, but as a group clearly divided into classes. The poor peasants were not to assume that middle and wealthy peasants had their best interests at heart but, instead, were told to educate themselves and work with other poor peasants to improve their lives. With the collectivization of

⁷ *Krest'ianka*, no. 22 (1933), p. 10.

⁸ The Zhenotdel, a section of the Party devoted to working with women, was established in 1919. With a network of local branches across the country, it sought to encourage Soviet women to become active supporters of the new regime through increased political participation and engaging in more social activities. It was disbanded in 1930.

agriculture and the supposed 'liquidation of the kulaks as a class', *Batrachka* was seen to have served its purpose and ceased publication in 1929.

Originally conceived of as the 'little sister' of *Rabotnitsa*, *Delegatka* began publication under the auspices of the Moscow branch of the Zhenotdel on International Women's Day in 1923.⁹ It was the only national women's magazine expressly intended for a mixed audience of both peasant and working women since both were expected to serve as delegates to soviets and Zhenotdel meetings. Issue after issue carried photographs of women acting in this capacity. Since the needs of a delegate were not dissimilar to those which the Party leadership viewed as necessary to women as a whole, the messages in *Delegatka* to a large extent followed the themes laid out in *Rabotnitsa* and *Krest'ianka* in the 1920s. Literacy was again seen as crucial for the personal and professional development of Soviet women. But *Delegatka* went beyond basic literacy and attempted to introduce its readers to political and scientific ideas as well. For instance, the magazine ran a series of pieces with large boldface headlines on political concepts such as 'What is class?', 'What makes the Communist Party different from other [parties]?', 'What is the USSR?', and 'What is capitalism?'. The science section included articles on the creation of the world, the theory of evolution and the origin of species. While often at the most basic level, the information still gave readers the correct worldview, and the Party was clearly trying to educate a group that might one day join it or serve in local leadership positions.

The sole women's magazine to diverge significantly from *Rabotnitsa* and *Krest'ianka* was *Kommunistka*. The Second Congress of the Zhenotdel, held at the end of March 1920, passed a resolution in favor of establishing a journal entitled *Kommunistka* in order to link the branches of the Zhenotdel permanently. The magazine's first editor was Inessa Armand, but only two issues were published before her early death in October 1920. Subsequently, Krupskaja assumed the position and, apart from a brief period during Lenin's illness when she had to stop her active participation in the editorial board, she remained in that position until the magazine folded in 1930. Editorial meetings were frequently held in Krupskaja's apartment in the Kremlin or at Gorky if she was there with Lenin.¹⁰

Designed as a theoretical journal for female Party members, it was the most serious publication for Soviet women. Its very small print run of less than 20,000 copies at the time of its demise suggests that Party officials knew the magazine was beyond the reading abilities of most Soviet women. A typical

⁹ The expression 'little sister' is used by E. Goreva in her article on *Delegatka*. See 'Ruka ob ruku s "Rabotnitsei"', in *Vsegda s vami: sbornik posviashchennyi 50-letiiu zhurnala "Rabotnitsa"*, ed. V. Vavilina (Moscow, 1964), p. 207.

¹⁰ The meetings are described in P. S. Vinogradskaja, *Pamiatnyi vstrechi* (Moscow, 1972), p. 52.

issue was fifty pages in length. The articles were detailed and often exceeded ten single-spaced pages. There were few photographs and those that did appear were small, lacked descriptive captions, and often were completely unrelated to the article on the same page.¹¹ Statistics were more plentiful than photographs since the information they provided could be used by the readers as they went about their Party work. Since Party life was at the heart of *Kommunistka*, the subscriptions substituted for readers after the publication folded were to other magazines about Party work rather than to the remaining women's magazines.

Local publications for women had first been attempted during the Civil War period when shortages of paper and ink meant that separate magazines could not be printed. So the Bolsheviks tried to reach women through *stranichki*, special pages devoted to women's issues that were inserted into newspapers. *Kommunar*, *Petrogradskaia pravda*, and *Krasnaia gazeta* were the first newspapers to run *stranichki* and they were joined by *Pravda* in the spring of 1919. The number of such pages grew steadily until there were approximately eighty *stranichki* appearing in various provincial newspapers across the country by 1921.¹² The pages were usually produced with assistance from the local Zhenotdel group and sought to encourage more women to participate in Party life and activities. Despite the best efforts of Party officials, conditions in the first days of Soviet power meant that *stranichki* often did not appear on a regular schedule.¹³ When they did appear, they aimed at the most educated segments of society in the countryside, since *stranichki* did not use photographs to illustrate their articles and the vocabulary used required more than basic literacy. Separate illustrated publications for women with varying degrees of literacy were not possible until after the shortages of the Civil War period ended.

The mid to late-1920s saw the replacement of *stranichki* with regional magazines for women. Some of the periodicals were short-lived: *Krasnaia tuliachka* (Tula, three issues in 1923/24), *Rabotnitsa i krest'ianka* (Simbirsk, two issues in 1922), *Sputnik delegatki* (Tula, one issue in 1922), *Truzhenitsa Zakavkaz'ia* (Tiflis, two issues in 1923 and 1924), *Zhenshchina dzhetyssu* (Orenburg, one issue in December 1922), and *Novaia haspadarka* (Orsha, four issues, in Belarussian, 1926–1927). Others had much longer lives, occasionally lasting well into the 1930s. Examples include *Truzhenitsa Severnogo Kavkaza* (Rostov-on-Don, 1925–1927), *Zhenskii zhurnal* (Moscow, 1926–1930), *Krasnaia sibirichka*

¹¹ A vivid example can be found in the first issue of 1930. At the end of Krupskaya's article about the anniversary of Lenin's death, there is a photograph of industrial cranes.

¹² 'Otchet o rabote ot TsK RKP po rabote sredi zhenshchin s m po fev. 1921', *Izvestiia TsK RKP* (b), 5 March 1921, pp. 29–30.

¹³ For example, *Stranichka rabotnitsy*, which was included in *Biulleteni*, a free newspaper issued by the Vladimir Guberniia Party Committee, appeared in 1920 on 20 June, 29 June, 17 August, 28 August and 10 September.

(Novosibirsk, 1922–1939), *Kolkhoznitsa* (Rostov-on-Don, 1928–1938), *Sel'skaia i liasnaia haspadarka* (Minsk, 1927–1930, in Belarusian), and *Komunarka Ukrainy* (Kharkov, 1920–1934, in Ukrainian). Occasionally, women's periodicals chose to combine possible readerships as exemplified by *Rabotnitsa i krest'ianka* (Leningrad, 1922–1941), and two magazines entitled *Rabotnitsa i domashniaia khoziaika*, one published in Odessa (1926–1927), and the other in Dnepropetrovsk (1926–1928).

Like the national magazines for women in the 1920s, regional periodicals concentrated on women, with little mention of the Party leadership or even of the husbands of the women featured. The multiple roles played by Soviet women in their everyday lives were recognized since the magazines assumed readers often had both children and a job outside the home. Practical household and medical advice was given regularly, and no subject seemed beyond the range of subject matter. Even how to wash dishes and cutlery properly was explained to readers in Dnepropetrovsk in two small articles in an issue of 1926.¹⁴ The photographs of women were again realistic, including subjects of all ages, engaged in a variety of activities. References to the possibilities for self-education and new career choices were as common here as they were in *Rabotnitsa* and *Krest'ianka*. Since literacy was the key element in upward social mobility, it received much attention. Regional magazines contained book reviews and photographs of women learning to read. One front cover image even went so far as to show a woman reading as she cooked over a primus stove.¹⁵ Once literacy had been achieved, Soviet women could increase their roles in the public sphere, and regional magazines also contained extensive coverage of women's participation in local city council elections and delegate meetings.

Soviet women's magazines began to change with the advent of the First Five Year Plan when it became apparent that a massive influx of women into the labor force was needed to fulfil the goals of the plan. Life's improvements began to be tied more explicitly to work. The coverage devoted to shockworkers, and later Stakhanovism, showed Soviet women that a higher material standard of living could be achieved provided they produced at a high level. As the 1930s progressed, the Party leadership also became concerned about a decreasing birth rate. Consequently, more attention was given to maternity in women's periodicals, but it did not completely replace work-related items. Instead, the two themes were presented side by side without anyone seeming to consider the contradictory nature of the messages.¹⁶ Since the promised facilities and

¹⁴ *Rabotnitsa i domashniaia khoziaika* (Dnepropetrovsk), no. 2 (1926) p. 6.

¹⁵ *Rabotnitsa i domashniaia khoziaika* (Odessa), no. 6 (1926).

¹⁶ The contradictory nature of Soviet women's magazines in the 1930s has been well described in Chapter 10 of Lynne Attwood's recent book. See her *Creating the New Soviet Woman: Women's Magazines as Engineers of Female Identity, 1922–53* (New York, 1999), pp. 126–135. Attwood does

services rarely materialized, it would in fact have been very difficult to be a shockworker and the mother of a large family simultaneously. Instead of recognizing the struggles faced by most Soviet women, the magazines chose to present an idealized world full of modern hospitals and daycares, peopled by model citizens.

Rabotnitsa led the way, as women were flooded with propaganda about improving their lives and the positive changes going on in the Soviet Union. Upward social mobility and a higher standard of living could only come from leaving the domestic sphere and working in a factory or on a collective farm. Readers were encouraged to become more 'cultured' individuals as well, so *Rabotnitsa* and other women's magazines included a number of articles designed to increase the knowledge of readers concerning Russian culture at its highest levels. In particular, it was common to provide profiles of great Russian cultural figures. But transformations in everyday life were not ignored either. Women's periodicals frequently suggested new ways to decorate one's living space and to dress. Whereas in the 1920s and early 1930s the women captured in *Rabotnitsa*'s photographs were dressed for work, by the mid-1930s that was no longer the norm. Now women were shown in the latest fashions and as models of cleanliness. All Soviet women's magazines began to include occasional advertisements for cosmetics such as face cream and perfume. Leisure time was revolutionized as well. With the advent of the physical culture movement, women were encouraged to engage in sports in their spare moments. The motives behind physical culture were not purely altruistic. Healthier citizens would be of more use should the country need them for defense purposes. Women were not excluded from military preparedness. Instead, *Rabotnitsa* set the tone for other magazines by publishing frequent articles about and photographs of women learning to fire a rifle, fly a plane or don a gas mask.

In addition to work and leisure activities, Soviet women's magazines played a key role in the maternity campaign of the late 1930s. *Rabotnitsa* and other women's magazines had always assumed that readers had children. But in 1935 maternity began to receive an increasingly prominent amount of attention. *Rabotnitsa* chose to focus on the financial incentives guaranteed in the 1936 family legislation to families with a large number of children, for the magazine included a number of photographs of such exemplary families. Unlike *Krest'ianka*, where the image of a woman breast-feeding was common, few such pictures were published in *Rabotnitsa*.¹⁷ All magazines for Soviet women also used modern maternity hospitals as a symbol of progress in the remaking of Soviet life. In each instance, the reader was led to believe that expectant

not, however, attempt to analyze whether one role for women received more attention than the others.

¹⁷ I counted only three photographs of a woman breast-feeding between 1935 and 1939. See *Rabotnitsa*, no. 3 (1937), p. 18; no. 25 (1937), p. 16; and no. 17 (1938), p. 11.

mothers in the USSR had access to new, sanitary facilities in which to rest during pregnancy and where they would eventually give birth.

Despite the same overall positive themes, there were more differences between *Rabotnitsa* and *Krest'ianka* in the 1930s than in the 1920s. *Krest'ianka*, for instance, devoted comparatively little coverage to the physical culture and the *obshchestvennitsa*¹⁸ movements. Another example concerns the treatment of the Stakhanovite movement and the 1936 family legislation. The most famous rural Stakhanovites were women and they received far more attention in *Krest'ianka* than the leading female industrial Stakhanovites saw in *Rabotnitsa*. Between 1935 and 1939, twenty-three issues of *Krest'ianka* contained some reference to either Maria Demchenko or Pasha Angelina, the two most famous female agricultural Stakhanovites. Demchenko appeared on the cover four times, Angelina three times, and a pull-out reproduction of a painting of Angelina's brigade and their tractors was also included in an issue. The links between female agricultural Stakhanovites and the Party leadership were demonstrated to be particularly strong. Again to use the Demchenko example, on twelve separate occasions her likeness appeared on the same page as Stalin, either in the same photograph or as part of a montage. These numbers far exceeded the total references in *Rabotnitsa* to Evdokiia and Maria Vinogradova, the two most famous female industrial Stakhanovites.

In terms of the pro-maternity propaganda that accompanied the introduction of the 1936 family legislation, *Krest'ianka's* coverage differed from that of *Rabotnitsa* (described above). There are traces of an idealized family life in *Krest'ianka* as far back as 1933 when four issues published photographs of peasants at home to show the material progress made in the country as well as the transformation of daily life for Soviet citizens.¹⁹ In 1934 regular photographs of women breast-feeding began to appear and, in one issue, the 'Discussion of a Doctor' (Besedy vracha) column instructed women on how to breast-feed correctly.²⁰ From these modest beginnings the pro-maternity images became a veritable flood in 1935 when almost every issue contained at least one article or photograph of a woman breast-feeding, Soviet maternity hospitals, or daycare facilities for children. Only after the Stakhanovite movement began in August of that year did the pro-maternity propaganda abate slightly. After that, the two campaigns often coincided in the same issues

¹⁸ The *Obshchestvennitsa* or wives' volunteer movement began in heavy industry in the mid-1930s. It encouraged the wives of white collar workers to beautify their husbands' workplaces and engage in unpaid social work. The movement soon spread, most notably to the wives of Red Army officers and workers in the railway industry. A highly publicized conference, where the wives met with top Party officials, was held at the Kremlin in May 1936. See Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 156–61.

¹⁹ *Krest'ianka*, no. 17 (1933), p. 4; no. 20 (1933), p. 15; no. 20 (1933), p. 19; and no. 21 (1933), cover and inside back cover.

²⁰ *Krest'ianka*, no. 14 (1934), inside back cover.

of *Krest'ianka*. The contradictory encouragement of maternity and increased participation in the labor force continued to be presented in this fashion until well into 1937.

After *Kommunistka* and *Delegatka* ceased publication in 1930 and 1931, respectively, there was a dearth of national magazines for women. Only *Rabotnitsa* and *Krest'ianka* appeared throughout the 1930s and publications for more specific female audiences did not exist until *Obshchestvennitsa* was introduced in 1936.²¹ This periodical was the official organ of the wives' volunteer movement, mentioned above. The movement grew out of a belief that if women were determined not to engage in paid labor, they were still needed in the public sphere, setting up social programs and services as well as beautifying factory sites. The movement was well-received by state officials, for it convinced women to undertake socially useful work without the central authorities having to find all of the resources to finance the ventures. Interestingly, though, a close examination of *Obshchestvennitsa* makes it clear that the volunteer wives faced many of the same expectations as working women concerning the need to be healthy, acquire military skills and use daycare facilities if child rearing interfered with their public activities. Issues frequently contained illustrated articles detailing the rules of various sports and photographs of women engaged in physical culture. In terms of military preparedness, between 1936 and 1939 eight separate issues of *Obshchestvennitsa* contained at least one photograph of women wearing gas masks and seven issues carried similar photographs of women learning to shoot firearms. Since social work was time consuming, *Obshchestvennitsa* contained a large number of references to children in daycare facilities and after-school programs. Every issue showed children away from the home and their parents, and actively participating in music lessons, dance classes, theater groups or excursions to the countryside. The advertisements at the back of many issues plied prepared foods that would cut down on the time women had to spend in the kitchen each day.²²

One surprising element in *Obshchestvennitsa* is the amount of attention it devoted to the Stakhanovite movement. As an organ intended for women without regular paid employment, it seems strange to see such frequent references to other women who earned their fame through work. It may be that the

²¹ Since *Stakhanovets* (1936–1941), the official organ of the Stakhanovite movement, was designed for male as well as female readers, it has not been included in the analysis for this paper. For analyses of *Stakhanovets* and its depiction of women see Lewis H. Siegelbaum, *Stakhanovism and the Politics of Productivity in the USSR, 1935–1941* (Cambridge, 1988); and my 'Such Women Could Not Have Existed Before: Visual Propaganda and Soviet Women in the 1930s', (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 2000).

²² In fact, food products were the subject of more advertising in *Obshchestvennitsa* than any other product. While household goods (including textiles) and cosmetics both appeared five times between 1936 and 1939, prepared foods accounted for twenty advertisements over the same period.

Stakhanovite movement was frankly too large and important to ignore. Certainly the movement enjoyed lasting Party sanction and was featured prominently in other magazines for Soviet women as well. *Obshchestvennitsa* never fully resolved how to refer to female Stakhanovites. At times they are glorified in their own right while, in other instances, the magazine published calls by Stakhanovites for more work by the volunteers since their social programs and facilities enabled a greater number of women to join the labor force. The tension between these two messages went unnoticed, but again exemplify the frequently contradictory nature of Soviet women's magazines in the years prior to World War II.

In the 1930s few new regional publications were introduced for Soviet women. The majority were extremely short-lived: *Krest'ianka v Tatarii* (October 1933), *Krest'ianka v Ts.Ch.O* (December 1933) and *Krest'ianka v Zapadnoi oblasti* (June 1934) counted only five issues between them. Only *Kolkhoznitsa* (Rostov-on-Don, 1930–1938) and *Udarnitsa Urala* (Sverdlovsk, 1932–1937) were published for a considerable length of time.²³ In most instances, these local periodicals did not differ a great deal from *Rabotnitsa* and *Krest'ianka* except by including local information. The regional magazines continued to emphasize the importance and rewards of work outside the home for Soviet women as well as the improvements in everyday life in the country. The achievements of local heroines were publicized alongside those of national figures.

Regional women's magazines were not, however, mirror copies of those published in Moscow. There seems to have been a degree of independence in their production. Without regional archival studies for the areas that had women's magazines, little can be said about the local editors responsible for regional periodicals and one cannot trace the decision-making process involved in producing a periodical in the Soviet Union prior to World War II. What is evident from an examination of *Kolkhoznitsa* and *Udarnitsa Urala* is that certain campaigns were treated very differently in more distant parts of the Soviet Union. For example, unlike the coverage in *Krest'ianka*, there was a delay of several months before *Kolkhoznitsa* began to discuss the Stakhanovite movement, and its pro-maternity propaganda was muted for the first six months following the adoption of the new family legislation in 1936. But *Kolkhoznitsa*'s most visible sign of independence came from producing a wall newspaper insert.

²³ *Kolkhoznitsa* was originally published as *Khleborobka* but was renamed in the middle of 1930. It was an organ of the Rostov-on-Don Party Committee. The history of *Udarnitsa Urala*, published in Sverdlovsk, is more complicated. The publication that one can see at the Russian National Library in St Petersburg was originally called *Kolkhoznitsa Urala*, but merged after four issues with *Udarnitsa Urala*. There is some evidence that *Udarnitsa Urala* published a few issues prior to the merger (for instance, *Kolkhoznitsa Urala* ran a subscription advertisement for *Udarnitsa Urala* in its first issue), but copies of them do not seem to have survived. With the merger, the intended audience shifted from female peasants to female workers.

While national magazines sometimes had inserts of portraits of Party leaders, copies of works of art or sewing patterns, none included a wall newspaper. The first series of inserts ran from November 1928 to September 1929 while the magazine was called *Khleborobka* (Woman Grain-Grower). After an absence of several years, they began again in 1933 and continued sporadically until the second issue of 1935. While the existence of the wall newspaper inserts in itself was novel, their contents were not. They duplicated the messages in the rest of the issue with great emphasis on participation in local elections and shockwork.

What distinguishes *Udarnitsa Urala* from other magazines for women is its lack of pro-maternity propaganda, particularly after the enactment of the new family legislation in 1936. A survey of the magazine yielded only two instances where pro-maternity material occurred: the cover photograph of a female worker and baby boy that ran the month the legislation was announced, and a photograph two issues later of a worker family large enough to receive government assistance.²⁴ No photographs of babies or women breast-feeding were ever published. But if *Udarnitsa Urala* ignored the cult of maternity, it most certainly did not pass over in silence the *obshchestvennitsa* movement. In fact, in the region served by *Udarnitsa Urala* we find traces of it as early as 1932, and there is some suggestion that the idea of the national movement was conceived by 'Sergo' (Grigorii Konstantinovich) Ordzhonikidze, the People's Commissar of Heavy Industry, when he visited a factory in the Urals and discovered what the wives of managers had been doing to beautify factory sites on their own initiative.²⁵ The magazine contained many articles and photographs about the activities of local wives in the four years prior to the start of the national movement that would go on to receive so much attention in *Rabotnitsa* and, of course, *Obshchestvennitsa*.

Finally, a few words must be said about another feature common to all Soviet women's magazines in the 1930s: the growing penetration of the cult of personality. The decade before the war witnessed a massive outpouring of coverage about the Party leadership in all types of Soviet publications. Women's magazines were no different. The great revolutionary holidays began to be celebrated with more fanfare, and speeches made by Stalin would be reprinted in their entirety, even if that meant an entire issue was published without reference to any other subject. The quotations from Stalin and Lenin that were regularly sprinkled throughout women's magazines were always printed in a larger font than the text of the article on the page, and the leaders' words typically were either in boldface type or color. Issues of *Rabotnitsa* and *Krest'ianka*

²⁴ *Udarnitsa Urala*, no. 4 (1936), front cover and no. 6 (1936), p. 18.

²⁵ Catriona Kelly and Vadim Volkov, 'Directed Desires: Kul'turnost' and Consumption', in *Constructing Russian Culture in the Age of Revolution: 1881-1940*, ed. C. Kelly and D. Shepherd (Oxford, 1998), p. 297.

frequently carried photographs of ordinary people meeting with one, or sometimes several, members of the Party elite. In regional periodicals, the treatment was expanded to encompass local leaders as well as Politburo members. The speeches of local Party figures were reprinted along with their portraits. Occasionally a quotation from one of them would be used for emphasis in an article. And, in one instance, *Kolkhoznitsa* called for the construction of an airplane named for a local Party Political Secretary, although it does not seem as if the regional cults frequently went that far.²⁶

The positive depiction of the Party leadership even extended to the activities of the NKVD. Unlike the central newspapers, *Rabotnitsa* and *Krest'ianka* did not print regular features about the purge trials, limiting themselves to running short articles once the verdicts had been announced. Photographs of the defendants or of scenes from the courtroom were not used as illustrations. Only *Rabotnitsa* included photographs of Soviet citizens hearing the verdicts or of a group voting for the death sentence for the accused.²⁷ Other women's magazines did not contain such images. Local purges were dealt with in a similar manner. For instance, *Udarnitsa Urala* chose not to mention any arrests at all, and the article announcing the removal of the First Secretary of the Krai Party Committee in Rostov-on-Don was tucked onto the tenth page of an issue of *Kolkhoznitsa*.²⁸ The announcement did not link him to a major conspiracy either. What Soviet women's magazines did do was portray the NKVD as the orchestrator of much needed public building projects such as the Belomor Canal. The Canal was featured in three issues of *Krest'ianka* and six issues of *Rabotnitsa*. The hardships suffered by the prisoners who built the canal were of course never discussed. Instead, the articles and photographs showed the Canal as a modern marvel to be enjoyed by all who wanted to cruise along it in luxurious boats.

By the start of World War II, magazines for women contributed to an idealized view of Soviet society that was very far removed from the daily life of their readers. How and why did that happen? The magazines had always emphasized positive change but whereas in the 1920s that translated into realistic goals for self-improvement, by the 1930s the concerns of the state were dominating the messages given to Soviet women. Since women were needed in the labor force, material prosperity came to be associated with work. When anonymous shockworker heroines proved not to inspire enough women, the country's leadership shifted its attention to the presentation of famous Stakhanovite individuals, whose photographs were plastered across issue after issue of women's journals. When concerns about the birthrate surfaced,

²⁶ *Kolkhoznitsa*, no. 3 (1934), p. 14.

²⁷ *Rabotnitsa*, no. 25 (1936), p. 4, and no. 8 (1938), pp. 5–6.

²⁸ *Kolkhoznitsa*, no. 1 (1937), p. 10.

propaganda featuring positive images about maternity was developed. And when people were needed to set up social programs and beautify factories, the Party turned to the wives of white collar workers and army commanders and sponsored a movement for them. If there were contradictions in the propaganda, they were not recognized. Even though the reality depicted in Soviet women's magazines was distorted, they still have scholarly value for they tell us what the Soviet officials had in mind when they formulated policy, and they suggest that several policies were often advocated at the same time. The regional publications further demonstrate that what was promoted in Moscow did not necessarily get immediately transmitted to the peripheral regions of the country.

The Russian Bibliographical Society at Moscow University

E. M. Sukhorukova

The first Russian association for book studies was the Moscow Bibliographical Circle (*Moskovskii bibliograficheskii kruzhok*), which came into being in 1889 and was reconstituted in 1900 as the Russian Bibliographical Society attached to Moscow University (*Russkoe bibliograficheskoe obshchestvo pri Moskovskom universitete*). The society was closed down in 1930, its activities being regarded by then as ideologically harmful. The grounds for this were that book studies had by that time been declared a bourgeois pseudo-science, and the Soviet state was making efforts to liquidate all such voluntary organisations, regarding them as difficult to control.

From the very moment of its formation, the Moscow Bibliographical Circle set itself hugely difficult goals and, as we hope to make clear in this brief chronicle of its main activities, achieved a great deal during its lengthy period of activity. It was to become the largest association of those with an interest in the book. During the period of its existence nearly 600 people were elected members. At the time of its closure, membership numbered 235, of whom 169 were in Moscow, 28 in Leningrad and 38 in other cities.¹ Nearly all the well-known figures in the book world of the time were members of the Society.

The fact that the Russian Bibliographical Society, as one of the most stable professional associations of those active in the Russian book world of the late nineteenth century and the first third of the twentieth, possessed such an important scholarly potential and contributed so decisively to the formation of a scholarly theory of book studies was due in no small measure to the various commissions within the Society's structure, which enabled it to react more flexibly and effectively to the changing demands of scholarship and practice in the book world. These special commissions, created to function for limited periods in order to fulfil specific tasks, were a key feature of the Society's organisation.

The first of these was a jubilee commission consisting of 22 Society members set up in 1901–1902 to organise the all-Russian celebration of two hundred years of the Russian periodical press. Since the Society was primarily an academic institution, it was hoped that it would exercise scholarly guidance over preparations for the bicentenary, but in the event it emerged as the sole organiser and coordinator in Moscow of all the forthcoming celebrations. This

¹ Otdel rukopisei Rossiskoi gosudarstvennoi biblioteki (OR RGB), fond 573. (Bodnarskii, B. S.). K. 25, ed. khr. 8, f. 14.

required the mobilisation of all its resources. A great deal of activity was envisaged: an all-Russian congress of prominent figures in the Russian periodical press was to be organised, to include an exhibition showing every newspaper published since 1703; a list of all Russian periodical publications was planned, in a de luxe edition with portraits of editors, publishers and principal contributors, as well as illustrations of newspapers' first issues (the income from sales being intended to create a pension fund for newspaper staff); a facsimile of the first manuscript issue of the *Vedomosti* and a specially compiled supplement to Pekarskii's work on editions of the Petrine period were to be published; a constitution was drafted for a Society of Workers in the Periodical Press (later to become the Society of Workers in the Periodical Press and Literature).

The bicentenary jubilee commission set out to attract the participation of the largest possible number of societies, organisations and individual bibliophiles. A postal questionnaire was sent out to almost all publishers of periodicals in the country (to which 242 responses were received) and over the space of only eight months about seventy representatives of the Moscow press took part in over thirty-five meetings.² At the same time the Russian Bibliological Society based in St Petersburg had also set up a special commission, headed by N. M. Lisovskii (1854–1920),³ which was considering how to mark the bicentenary in conjunction with book societies in St Petersburg, but without attempting an all-Russian celebration. The Moscow Bibliographical Society's intention to publish a complete list of newspapers aroused 'astonishment'⁴ among the St Petersburgers because Lisovskii's classic work⁵ was already in existence, although certain other intentions of the planned publication were overlooked.

Here, a few words must be said about the relationship between the two societies. The Russian Bibliological Society (1899–1931) was founded in St Petersburg and became the centre for book studies in the northern capital. It was smaller than the Russian Bibliographical Society, but its activities were on the same lines despite some outward differences. It played a part in many initiatives connected with books and publishing, both before and after the Revolution, was instrumental in the appearance, in 1907, of the state bibliography *Knizhnaia letopis'*, the organisation the Book Chamber, in 1917, in setting up chairs in bibliography and librarianship in higher educational institutions, and arranging the first lecture courses in Russia on book studies in 1920. A key

² N. N. Orlov, *Tridtsat' piat' let deiatel'nosti Russkogo bibliograficheskogo obshchestva pri Moskovskom universitete* (Moscow, 1925), p. 18.

³ Lisovskii was an active member of both the Bibliological and Bibliographical Societies, a member of the Moscow Bibliographical Circle from 1893, and from 1914 (when he moved from Petrograd to Moscow) until 25 August 1920 Vice-Chairman of the Russian Bibliographical Society, and Chairman from 25 August 1920 until 19 September, the day of his death.

⁴ *Literaturnyi vestnik*, 1901, t. 1, kn. 4, p. 536.

⁵ N. M. Lisovskii, *Russkaia periodicheskaia pechat' 1703–1900*, vyp. 1–4, 1895–1915.

position in its scholarly and publishing work, especially during the later period of its activity, was occupied by attempts to determine the purpose, content, structure and methodology of book studies in general and of its component disciplines.

In essence, the activities of these two societies followed a common theoretical course and may be regarded as a single process moving towards the formation of an all-embracing science of the book and publishing. Many of the materials produced by the Russian Bibliological Society were not published, for the same financial reasons as those applying to the Russian Bibliographical Society. One of the obstacles in the way of mutual understanding between the two societies was a terminological disagreement. In Moscow the term *bibliografiia* was frequently used with reference to book studies, although of course attention was primarily devoted to bibliography in the stricter sense. In St Petersburg-Leningrad they worked on 'bibliology' (*bibliologiia*), which was very widely interpreted and included, for example, the history of literature. Hence the Muscovites—not without reason—accused the Russian Bibliological Society of being preoccupied with literary-historical concerns, while the 'bibliologists' taxed the Muscovites with a false interpretation of the term *bibliografiia* and, further, of having blinkered scholarly interests: 'The evolution of the Moscow Bibliographical Society is characterised by a trend towards a narrow and exclusive decimalism'.⁶ This suspicious attitude of the two societies towards each other's work lasted for decades. The Chairman of the Russian Bibliological Society, Aleksandr Iustinovich Malein (1869–1938), wrote in a letter of 2 February 1926 to Bogdan Stepanovich Bodnarskii, Chairman of the Russian Bibliographical Society: 'Why are we wasting time on polemics? We would do better to act together as far as our inclinations and resources allow, rather than heaping reproaches on each other for not having understood what we were doing for 25 years.'⁷ Thus, although the two societies were active in the same field of study for many years, a certain civic particularism existed, as evidenced in 1901–1902—two capitals, two centres to organise the celebrations. Unfortunately this separatism, verging on confrontation, prevented either the Bibliographical, the Bibliological, or any other society from carrying through even a part of what had been envisaged.

In 1902 the Bibliographical Society was suffocating under the burden of unfulfilled plans. At the suggestion of D. V. Ul'ianinskii,⁸ it was announced in

⁶ *Doklady i otchety* (Novaia seriia) (Petrograd, Russkoe bibliograficheskoe obshchestvo, 1917), vyp. 4, p. 23.

⁷ M. D. El'zon, 'Aleksandr Iustinovich Malein', *Kniga. Issledovaniia i materialy*, sb. 47 (1983), p. 174.

⁸ Dmitrii Vasil'evich Ul'ianinskii (1861–1918) was a member of the Moscow Bibliographical Circle (from 1895), from 1902 to 1910 Vice-Chairman of the Russian Bibliographical Society, and elected an honorary member in 1917. He collected a library that was unique (in the condition of its books among other things), an important part of which consisted of works on book studies,

December that the jubilee commission had been disbanded. In works on the Society's history written by its members, this decision by Ul'ianinskii (who was at that time the effective leader of the Society) is accorded full approval, since its academic activity had at that point practically ceased: apart from a few eulogies for members who had died, only a single paper was presented at the society's meetings throughout the entire year. The jubilee celebrations, at the wish of the Grand Duke Sergei Aleksandrovich,⁹ did not take place. Thus the only material outcome of the commission's work proved to be three issues of the *Biulleten' 'Rabocheho biuro'*, containing information on the progress of preparations for the celebration, and articles on the history of the Russian periodical press and the new society of book-lovers. It was probably the bitter experience with the jubilee commission which led to the decision to mark the 200th anniversary of the civil script only by presenting lectures and arranging an exhibition of 230 books, prints and portraits, most of them belonging to members of the Society. The exhibition, which took place on 8 and 9 March 1908, was seen by over 100 people.

In 1907 a Commission (until 1913 a Circle) for Siberian Bibliography was also set up under the leadership of Professor S. K. Kuznetsov.¹⁰ It grew out of a student circle and its principal aim was to continue the work of V. I. Mezhev¹¹ in compiling a bibliography of Siberia. Eighty-seven meetings were

especially bibliography, and published a three-volume catalogue, *Biblioteka D. V. Ul'ianinskogo. Bibliograficheskoe opisanie* (1912–1915), distinguished by the mass of bibliographical reminiscence in its annotations. 'Deprived by the Soviet government of his post and his apartment, he fell into complete despair through brooding on the fate of his treasure-house of books, went to the Kursk Station and lay down under a train' (*Pamiati D. V. Ul'ianinskogo* (Moscow, 1923), p. 4). Ul'ianinskii's collection was acquired in 1919 by the library of the Rumiantsev Museum (now the Russian State Library).

⁹ The Grand Duke Sergei Aleksandrovich, Governor-General of Moscow, was elected an honorary member of the Moscow Bibliographical Circle as early as 1891. In the Society's report on 35 years of its activity, it is noted that anniversary gave rise to 'a period of endless meetings', which took place 'almost exclusively in an atmosphere of stormy and sometimes unworthy conflicts between journalists'. In the Moscow press of 1901 (reports in *Moskovskii listok*, *Russkii listok* and *Novosti dnia*), it was remarked that the journalists not only 'polemicised' with each other but at the same time 'grossly insulted' the initiator of their own anniversary (N. N. Orlov (note 2), p. 18). It may be that this quarrelsome atmosphere was one of the causes of the Governor-General's decision to cancel the celebrations.

¹⁰ The ethnographer Stepan Kirovich Kuznetsov (1854–1913) was from the late 1870s *dotsent* in the department of Latin Literature at Kazan University, from 1885 a librarian at Tomsk University and a professor at Moscow University. He was a member of the Russian Bibliographical Society from 1907, a member of the Viatka Archives Commission, and author of many works on ethnography. On his life, see: 'S. K. Kuznetsov' (obituary), *Bibliograficheskie izvestiia*, 1913 (3–4); and *Istoricheskii vestnik*, September 1913, cols. 1145–1146.

¹¹ Vladimir Izmailovich Mezhev (1830–1894), the first Russian professional bibliographer, was a member of the Moscow Bibliographical Circle from 1889 and author of over 100 bibliographical works on a variety of subjects. He made an important contribution to the development of the bibliography of local history. He compiled *Sibirskaiia bibliografiia* (t. 1–3, 1891–1892), *Bibliografiia Azii* (t. 1–3, 1891–1894), *Turkestanskii sbornik* (t. 1–416, working on it for some 20 years from

held, as well as special bibliographical visits to places where Siberian publications could be recorded, speeches by commission members to the Irkutsk Society for the Study of Siberia, and articles in Siberian newspapers. The rules for bibliographical description prepared by the commission and published in *Bibliograficheskie izvestiia* (1913, no. 4) are of some interest. After the destruction of the Society's premises in 1917 the commission was disbanded and not revived until 1922, when it embarked on a collective project for a bibliography of Siberia, the Urals and the Far East under the leadership of N. V. Zdobnov.¹² (Zdobnov also planned a change of name to the Commission for Ural-Siberian Bibliography.) In a letter of 21 April 1923 to V. P. Biriukov, Zdobnov complains of the small number of members on the commission.¹³ Before the Revolution, ten society members and 85 other collaborators (35 of them women, including one from Chita) were working for the commission and Zdobnov had hoped for collaboration with the Moscow section of the Academy of Sciences' Central Office for Local History, which would have made possible the publication of the commission's work. This was unfortunately not forthcoming.

One of the first practical applications of the decimal classification to the Society's activity was its use—after acrimonious arguments—by the Tolstoi Commission, set up by the Society in 1911, in the compilation of a comprehensive bibliography of the works of Lev Tolstoi. As it had done on previous occasions, the Society sent out a notice announcing the creation of the commission and approached 152 individuals, 62 periodicals and 19 learned societies with a request for assistance. Eighty per cent of the replies received were positive.¹⁴ It is a tribute to the well-devised plan for the project that the established working guidelines remained unaltered even after the commission was transferred in 1912 to the jurisdiction of the newly formed Tolstoi Society (under the aegis of which it survived until 1930). The commission consisted of 16 society members and 25 collaborators, among them Tolstoi's widow Sofia Andreevna, his eldest son Sergei L'vovich, V. G. Chertkov,¹⁵ I. I. Gorbunov-

1868), and its indexes, the *Sistematicheskii i azbuchnyi ukazateli* . . . (t. 1–3, 1878–1888), all of which remain highly valuable and unique bibliographies of the literature on these territories before 1917.

¹² Nikolai Vasil'evich Zdobnov (1888–1942) was a member of the Russian Bibliographical Society from 1922 and a member of the Society's Council 1924–1930. He joined the Socialist Revolutionary Party in 1906, for which he was arrested and exiled until the Revolution, and repressed in 1941 (he died in captivity in 1942). His *Osnovy kraevoi bibliografii* (1925, second edition 1931) is the first attempt at a theoretical interpretation of local history bibliography.

¹³ 'Pis'ma N. V. Zdobnova V. P. Biriukovu' (publ. E. I. Kogan), in: *Istoriko-bibliograficheskie issledovaniia* (St Petersburg, 1994), vyp. 4, p. 161.

¹⁴ *Otchet Russkogo bibliograficheskogo obshchestva za 1911 g.* (Moscow, 1912), p. 6.

¹⁵ Vladimir Grigor'evich Chertkov (1854–1936), public figure, publicist and publisher, close friend of L. N. Tolstoi. In 1844, with Tolstoi's participation, he organised the educational publishing-house 'Posrednik' to issue books for the people.

Posadov,¹⁶ V. V. Smidovich-Veresaev¹⁷ and M. A. Stakhovich.¹⁸ It held eight meetings in 1911–1912 at which, besides discussing the compilation of the bibliography, it heard several papers on subjects relating to Tolstoi.

After the Library Congress in December 1911 the Society set up a Commission on Librarianship, the largest within its structure. The commission held 24 meetings. It was composed of 30 society members and 102 librarians (not only from Moscow but also from the provinces, and including 63 women). Besides preparing and discussing papers, the commission worked on compiling 'standard' catalogues for public libraries¹⁹ and children's libraries, and prepared and published a list of manuals deemed to be essential for most libraries. It took part in the meetings of the Moscow city administration dealing with budgets for the support of the city libraries, and drafted regulations for the organisation of a network of public libraries in Moscow. After the outbreak of the First World War there appeared a 'List of the most important books on the war and on the states involved in the present conflict', compiled from materials provided by the commission. The commission had its own museum of library equipment, which included catalogues, reports, statutes, instructions, inventories, borrower records, catalogue cards, etc.²⁰ In Moscow the commission became the same kind of communication centre for librarians as the Society for Librarianship (*Obshchestvo bibliotekovedeniia*) had become in Petrograd. It survived within the framework of the Russian Bibliographical Society until mid-1916, when it was reorganised into an independent Russian Library Association (*Russkoe biblioteknoe obshchestvo*), taking with it the contents of its museum and specialist books from the Bibliographical Society's library.

This commission was also concerned with setting up the first instructional courses for librarianship in Russia, largely thanks to the eminent bibliographer

¹⁶ Ivan Ivanovich Gorbunov-Posadov (pseudonym, real surname Gorbunov, 1864–1940), educationalist, publicist and publisher. From 1897 he was the permanent head of the 'Posrednik' publishing-house.

¹⁷ Vikentii Vikent'evich Smidovich-Veresaev (pseudonym, real surname Smidovich, 1867–1945), prose writer, literary critic, poet-translator. In 1912 he initiated the establishment of the *Knigoizdatel'stvo pisatelei v Moskve*, which he headed until 1918, and was chairman of its board from 1922.

¹⁸ Mikhail Aleksandrovich Stakhovich (1861–1923), jurist, leader of the nobility in Orel *guberniia*, active in the *Zemstvo*, member of the first and second State Dumas.

¹⁹ Some parts of this work were printed in *Volnyi Universitet*, 1914 (3), pp. 50–53.

²⁰ The Museum of Library Equipment (sometimes called the Museum of Librarianship in the Society's reports) was built up throughout the life of the Commission on Librarianship. In December 1902 the Society was given permanent accommodation in the old building of Moscow University, where the contents of the Museum were kept. After the closure in 1921 of the Russian Library Association (which had grown out of the Commission on Librarianship), its library and museum exhibits were transferred to the re-founded 'Cabinet of Librarianship' (*Kabinet bibliotekovedeniia*) (N. N. Orlov (note 2), p. 30).

and specialist in librarianship L. V. Khavkina,²¹ who also became supervisor of the courses. Her view was that the courses should be run by the Society, and it was only for formal reasons that they were attached to the A. L. Shaniavskii People's University. The courses opened in 1913 with an instruction period of three weeks. The Society supported the courses throughout, putting at their disposal books from its library and material from its museum. The courses included lectures on such subjects as 'Practical book studies', 'History of the book', and 'General book studies' (by N. M. Lisovskii). The specialist press of the time (the journals *Bibliotekar'*, *Russkaia shkola* and *Bibliograficheskie izvestiia*) reported in detail on the courses, publishing the programmes and the instructors' names as well as both enthusiastic and critical comments. The commission maintained a standing interest in the courses. At the end of the first series a special conference was organised, to which course participants were invited. About 100 people attended; and if we bear in mind that 358 were enrolled in the first year, many of whom came from outside the city, this indicates the high level of interest in the initiative. Courses on the Moscow pattern were organised in other cities.

In 1914 a commission was established for the provision of books for wounded soldiers. This was the Society's only non-academic commission (although such specialists as N. M. Lisovskii, R. F. Brandt,²² B. S. Bodnarskii and U. G. Ivask²³ regarded it as an honour to be among its 21 members). It remained in existence until 1917, holding seventeen meetings and dealing with the reception of donated books and their distribution to hospitals, mostly in Moscow.

After the February Revolution, when state registration of printed matter

²¹ Liubov' Borisovna Khavkina (1871–1949) was elected an honorary member of the Russian Bibliographical Society in 1911. To Khavkina also belongs the credit for organising the first department for the study of librarianship in Russia (in 1903 at the Kharkov Public Library); for developing a plan for training in librarianship (1904); for producing general handbooks on library studies (*Biblioteki, ikh organizatsiia i tekhnika* (1904); *Rukovodstvo dlia nebol'shikh bibliotek* (1911)); and for compiling the Cutter tables *Trekhznachnye avtorskie tablitsy Kettera* (1931) for the Russian language.

²² Roman Fedorovich Brandt (1853–1920), professor and Slavist. Member of the Russian Bibliographical Society from 1903; member of its Council 1903–1910; Chairman of the Society 1910–1920. In 1913 elected an honorary member. Author of some 200 works, he had a perfect command of twenty languages, mostly Slavonic, and was one of the most authoritative Esperanto specialists of the time. Shortly before his death he had prepared for publication a work calling for the Latinisation of the Russian alphabet. On him see: B. S. Bodnarskii, *Zhizn' i deiatel'nost' R. F. Brandta* (Moscow, 1924); and N. A. Kondrashov, *Roman Fedorovich Brandt* (Moscow, 1963).

²³ Udo Georgievich Ivask (1878–1922), scholar of the book, bibliophile and bibliographer. Member of the Russian Bibliographical Society from 1902, and of its Council (Treasurer of the Society) 1908–1920. In 1905 set up the Moscow Society of Book-Plate Lovers. In 1918 established the Department of Rare Books at the library of the Rumiantsev Museum (now the Russian State Library). In 1920 took part in the organisation of the Russian Central Book Chamber in Moscow. From 1920, assistant director of the Fundamental Library at Tartu University. Author of some 50 publications, over 20 of them on book-plates.

came to an end, a commission was set up to register publications as they appeared—the only one before October 1917 to consist exclusively of Society members (nine in all). The initiator and chairman of the commission was B. S. Bodnarskii. It had a short existence—from 29 April 1917 to 12 May 1918—and held only three meetings, but did fulfil its purpose of continuing the publication of *Knizhnaia letopis'* in those very difficult times. The 'Zvezda' publishing-house published the first issue of the index to recent publications, compiled by Bodnarskii.

A reform of the commissions took place during the 1920s. Bodnarskii, as chairman of the Society, drafted and presented to its Council a special instruction, envisaging commissions called 'bibliographical laboratories' to address the most important issues.²⁴ Members of the Society regarded book studies as the sum of four disciplines: bibliology (the theoretical element), library administration (*bibliotekonomiia*), bibliophily, and book technology (*bibliotekhniia*—publishing and printing). Corresponding commissions were established. The Bibliology Commission was still in process of formation in 1923, but finally took shape in early 1925 and continued in existence until 1929, having held 17 meetings. Headed by Bodnarskii²⁵ and with eight collaborators,²⁶ the Bibliology Commission set out to analyse the concept of 'the book' (devoting seven meetings to this question in 1925), drew up a body of terminology for book studies, and evaluated statistical data and the 'physiological conditions of the book'.²⁷ Besides general problems of book studies, other questions were also examined: bibliographical terminology (in particular the definition of the whole concept of 'bibliography'); varieties of bibliography; and bibliographical description and classification—these being seen as the most vital issues in bibliography at the time. As well as papers dealing with the past, such as 'The bibliography of pre-war military bibliography' and 'The bibliography of early-printed books', the commission heard and discussed contributions on the current state of bibliography—something with which the Society's members were dissatisfied on many counts. It was noted that there were 'many official academic secretariats where there are no card files, reference works or staff familiar with bibliography; . . . encyclopaedias are being compiled by people who have no knowledge of bibliographical method; . . . many libraries do not know how to use bibliographies; . . . journals print bibliographical listings in unacceptable formats'.²⁸

²⁴ OR RGB, fond 382 (Orlov N. N.), k. 5, ed. khr. 1, f. 20.

²⁵ According to the Instruction prepared by Bodnarskii, 'in view of the exceptional importance of the Bibliology Commission, only the chairman and secretary of the Society may serve as its [i.e. the Commission's] chairman and secretary', *ibid.*

²⁶ OR RGB, fond 573 (Bodnarskii B. S.), k. 25, ed. khr. 3, f. 43v.

²⁷ Tsentral'nyi istoricheskii arkhiv Moskvyy (TsIAM), fond 634 (Russkoe bibliograficheskoe obshchestvo), op. 1, ed. khr. 61, f. 2.

²⁸ TsIAM, fond 634 (Russkoe bibliograficheskoe obshchestvo), op. 1, ed. khr. 61, f. 17.

Shortly after the Bibliology Commission in the same year, 1925, a smaller and rather less significant commission, the Library Administration Commission, began work with eight members²⁹ under the chairmanship of K. F. Gessel'.³⁰ Matters raised at its meetings included the definition of the concept of a 'library'; and the typology of libraries. The commission considered the outcomes of the first All-Union Conference of Library Workers in Houses of Education, and compared practice in the USA and the USSR over the production of printed catalogue cards. At the second All-Russian Bibliographical Congress the commission raised the question of combining graphics and transcription in bibliographical descriptions.³¹ Over a period of three years the commission held a total of five meetings at which papers were read and discussed, and ended its existence in the spring of 1928.

Even less significant were the achievements of the Book Technology Commission (Komissiiia bibliotekhnii), the last to be set up (in the spring of 1926) and the shortest-lived: the second and last meeting at which a paper was heard and discussed took place in March 1927. Nine people took part in the commission's work, under the chairmanship of the bibliographer, art historian and bibliophile Vladimir Iakovlevich Adariukov (1863–1937).³² It is mentioned in the Society's report for 1928, but with the negative prefix: 'No papers were presented'. By 'book technology' was understood the study of 'the material processes connected with the book, being synonyms of those concepts which we previously expressed by the term *knizhnoe delo*; it [i.e. *bibliotekhniiia*] constitutes, together with library administration and bibliography in the strict sense, the field of bibliography in the broader sense (book studies—*knigovedenie*), and in its turn divides into two branches: book printing, and book publishing together with bookselling'.³³ The commission gave attention to book formats and the related question of paper formats, which it submitted for consideration to a general meeting of the Society.

A resolution to organise a Commission on Bibliophily³⁴ was not implemented. As we have seen, after the Revolution external factors rendered commissions less effective as an organisational form for the Society's activities—something which was recognised even by their members. We should note here the proclaimed desire of the commissions of the 1920s to carry through their

²⁹ OR RGB, fond 634 (Bodnarskii B. S.), k. 25, ed. khr. 3, f. 43v.

³⁰ Konstantin Fedorovich Gessel' (1862–1941) became Vice-Chairman of the Russian Bibliographical Society in 1920.

³¹ The 'unification of graphics and transcription' was a term in use in the 1920s. By it was meant the synthesis of transliteration and transcription in the bibliographical description of publications in those languages of the peoples of the USSR which were being given written form for the first time, or were being shifted from the Roman to the Cyrillic alphabet.

³² OR RGB, fond 573 (Bodnarskii B. S.), k. 23, ed. khr. 3, f. 43v.

³³ TsIAM, fond 634 (Russkoe bibliograficheskoe obshchestvo), op. 1, ed. khr. 61, f. 24.

³⁴ *Otchet o deiatel'nosti Russkogo bibliograficheskogo obshchestva za 1924 g.* (Moscow, 1925), p. 3.

work in accordance with the scientific plans of the International Bibliographical Institute.³⁵

The consequences of inadequate funding always hung over the Society like the sword of Damocles. Since it owed its continued existence only to members' subscriptions, a small annual subsidy from Moscow University and donations, some of its major initiatives were ultimately destined to fail because of the lack of a sound material basis. Others failed because of external events and pressures. One of the most promising ones was the creation of a national record of printed books. In 1917 it was announced that work on it had been completed, but in October an artillery shell landed on the left wing of the old Moscow University building, exactly on the spot where the catalogue was housed, and many of the card files were destroyed. Within a year the catalogue had been restored, but in January 1920, after a request from Gosizdat, a general meeting of the Society resolved 'to transfer the catalogue to the State Publishing-House for the sum of approximately one hundred thousand roubles'.³⁶ From Gosizdat's bibliographical commission the catalogue arrived at the Book Chamber, and after several further moves it had turned into a disorganised body of material that had lost any value as a reference tool.

One of the most fundamental forms of the Society's scholarly activity was the papers delivered at its gatherings. About five hundred were presented. One paper in three was devoted to the history, theory or methods of bibliography. There were papers on the theory of book studies, on librarianship, the book trade, publishing and printing, bibliography and journalism, publishing statistics and authors' rights, reading and book history. Much attention was given to the work of societies in the field (especially the Russian Bibliographical Society itself) and of Russian book-lovers (especially members of the Society). The best papers were published in the Society's periodicals or appeared as separate publications. By our reckoning, 136 non-periodical publications were issued over the space of forty years. The greater proportion consisted of offprints of articles and other materials from the Society's journals.

The Society's separate publications consisted, firstly, of articles on a variety of subjects, reviews, biographical materials and obituaries, lists and indexes. Original publications (not offprints) included draft and definitive statutes, membership lists, reports and other works by Society members, among them materials from the commissions on Siberian bibliography and on library studies. From 1894 to 1897 the Society published the journal *Knigovedenie*, and later *Bibliograficheskie izvestiia* (1913–1927, 1929), which was the first and only pre-Revolutionary journal devoted to the whole field of scholarly book studies. In these journals as well as in non-periodical publications, a wide

³⁵ OR RGB, fond 382 (Orlov N. N.), k. 5, ed. khr. 2, ff. 7, 32, 40.

³⁶ TsIAM, fond 634 (Russkoe bibliograficheskoe obshchestvo), op. 1, ed. khr. 101, f. 310.

range of subject matter was covered. Materials were published on the general theory of book studies; there were many works on bibliography, especially bibliographical method; and there were works on libraries, the book trade and journalism, and on individuals active in the book world. Apart from articles on activities in Russia, the journal reported extensively on the work of the International Bibliographical Institute; its head, Paul Otlet, regularly sent reports of its activities to the RBS and articles by him featured in *Bibliograficheskie izvestiia*. (Another international dimension of the Society's activities was the participation of its representatives in events abroad: the International Book Exhibition in Paris in 1894; the celebration in Mainz of the 500th anniversary of Johann Gutenberg's birth; the International Congress on Bibliography and Documentation, Brussels, 1910; and the Leipzig Exhibition of Books and Graphic Art, 1914.)

The Society had permanent representation at the country's chief bibliographical institution, the Book Chamber (Knizhnaia palata), and on the Bibliographical and Library Commission of the Central Office for Local History (Tsentral'noe biuro kraevedeniia). The first All-Russian Bibliographical Congress was organised in 1924 thanks to its efforts, and members of the Society took an active part in the conduct of the second Congress in 1926. Throughout its existence, its foremost tasks were proclaimed as developing scholarship devoted to the book and to publishing; fostering the study of bibliography; and uniting work on book studies throughout the country through the creation of a single centre in the shape of the Society itself. The Russian Bibliographical Society played an outstanding role, not only in studying and deciding many topical issues in book studies, but also in involving a wider public in the organisation and practical activity of libraries, bibliographical services, publishers and booksellers. At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, the Society solved the problems of organising the registration of printed matter; of centralised cataloguing; of methodological guidance for the bibliographical description of various types of publication; and it offered a model for fruitful collaboration between state and voluntary organisations in the world of the book under the conditions of democracy.

Translated from Russian by Gregory Walker

List of publications on the Russian Bibliographical Society

- G. A. Alekseeva, 'Zhurnal "Knigovedenie"—organ Moskovskogo bibliograficheskogo kruzhka', *Knizhnoe delo*, 1994, no. 5, pp. 76–77.
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‘Безгрязия крензель’¹ — Издательская деятельность К.К. Фофанова (Олимпова)

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Комплексный цивилизационный кризис рубежа XIX и XX веков (определенный О. Шпенглером как ‘закат Европы’) вызвал к жизни контркультуру, одним из замечательных проявлений которой стал *футуризм*. Новая идеология, эффектно реализовавшаяся в разных областях художественного творчества, запечатлелась и в издательской сфере. Заметным образом на мировую издательскую практику повлиял русский футуризм, одно из наиболее радикальных и мощных ответвлений европейского эстетического авангарда. В частности, он существенно преобразил печать Российской империи, в тот период во многих отношениях весьма консервативную и потому находившуюся в кризисном состоянии.

Литературно-публикационная деятельность футуристов представляла собой беспрецедентное для России явление. В весьма значительной мере она основывалась на ‘авторском’, индивидуальном издательстве (аналогичном широко распространенному к тому времени на Западе ‘самоиздательству’ — ‘selbstverlag’, ‘self-publishing’), — которое при этом нередко осуществлялось от имени какого-либо коллектива или под маркой какой-либо издательской институции. К подобным имитациям следует отнести большинство так называемых ‘футуристических издательств’ — ‘Петербургский глашатай’ И.В. Казанского (Игнатьева), ‘Его.’ И.В. Лотарева (Игоря Северянина), ‘Очарованный странник’ В.Р. Ховина, ‘Мезонин поэзии’ и ‘Плеяда’ В.Г. Шершеневича, ‘Лирика’ и ‘Центрифуга’ С.П. Боброва, ‘Журавль’ и ‘Дом на Песочной’ М.В. Матюшина, ‘ЕУЫ’ А.Е. Крученыха, ‘Стрелец’ А.Э. Беленсона, ‘L’oiseau bleu’ Г.А. Шенгели, ‘Лирень’ Г.Н. Петникова, ‘ОМБ’ О.М. Брика и некоторые другие.

Одной из заметных фигур русского авангардного книгоиздательства начала XX века был Константин Константинович Фофанов (более известный под псевдонимом Олимпов, 1889—1940), сын некогда знаменитого поэта К.М. Фофанова. Он участвовал в нескольких футуристических литературных проектах, и его опыт в издательской сфере заслуживает внимания.

1. Участие в ‘Его.’

Под маркой ‘Его.’ был выпущен целый ряд изданий столичных эгофутуристов. Однако, вопреки утверждениям активного участника эго-

¹ Цитата из К.К. Фофанова (Олимпова).

футуристического движения и его первого историографа И.В. Казанского (Игнатьева),² а также некоторых позднейших исследователей,³ регулярного издательского предприятия с таким названием не существовало в природе. Это был индивидуальный проект И.В. Лотарева (Игоря Северянина), фактического основоположника русского футуристического книгоиздания.⁴ В одном из петербургских цинкографических заведений было изготовлено типографское клише 'Его.', и в течение некоторого времени по разрешению Северянина это клише ставилось на печатной продукции, самостоятельно выпускавшейся группировавшимися тогда вокруг него авторами, — как знак их принадлежности к патронируемому Северяниным литературному клану.

Ряд исследователей считает, что автором идеи и рисунка издательской марки (заключенная в направленный вверх равнобедренный треугольник надпись 'Его.') был Олимпов.⁵ Убедительных доказательств этого до сих пор не выявлено. В то же время известно, что сами участники названной группы Северянин и Олимпов не имели единого взгляда на этот счет и с 1912 года оспаривали друг у друга право считаться автором марки.⁶ При этом у Северянина были свои аргументы. В частности, слово 'его' в русской транскрипции употреблялось по отношению к нему еще при жизни К.М. Фофанова (и впоследствии тоже) как составляющая титула — 'Его Светозарность Игорь Северянин'.⁷

Как бы то ни было, эмблема 'Его.', определенно, имела символистские корни: Северянин выводил достаточно развернутую эгофилософию из популярной в то время в России драмы Г. Ибсена 'Брандт' (ставившейся на сценах Петербурга и Москвы с 1906 года),⁸ с подобными же интер-

² См.: Казанский [И.В.]. Первый год эго-футуризма // Орлы над пропастью: Предзимний альманах. — [СПб.]: 'Петербургский глашатай' И.В. Игнатьева, 1912. — С.2.

³ См., например: Марков Владимир [Ф.]. К истории русского эго-футуризма // Orbis scriptus: Dmitrij [I.] Tschizewskij: Zum 70. Geburtstag / Herausgegeben von Dietrich Gerhardt, Wiktor Weintraub, Hans-Jürgen zum Winkel. — München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1966. — С.501.

⁴ Высказанное Н.А. Богомоловым предположение о том, что 'меценатом' 'Его.' был И.В. Казанский (Игнатьев), документально не подкреплено им (см.: Богомолов Н.А. Русская литература первой трети XX века: Портреты; Проблемы; Разыскания. — [Новосибирск; указ.: Томск]: Водолей, 1999. — С.413). Если даже допустить, что Игнатьев оказывал Северянину некоторую финансовую помощь, принципиального положения вещей это не меняет.

⁵ См.: Из истории эгофутуризма: Материалы к литературной биографии Константина Олимпова / [Вступ. статья], публ. [и коммент.] А.Л. Дмитренко // Минувшее: Исторический альманах. — [Вып.] 22. — СПб.: Atheneum; Феникс, 1997. С.207; Никольская Т.Л. Олимпов Константин: [Справ. статья] // Русские писатели: 1800-1917: Биографический словарь / Глав. ред. П.А. Николаев. — [Т.] 4. — [Ульяновск; указ.: М.]: Большая рос. энциклопедия; Фианит, 1999. — С.428; и др.

⁶ См., например: Марков Владимир [Ф.]. (примечание 3). — С.504.

⁷ См.: [Лотарев И.В.]. Качалка грёзёрки: Поэзы / С предисл. К.М. Фофанова. — [СПб.; указ.: Столица на Неве]: Его, 1912. — 4 с.обл. (подп.: Игорь-Северянин).

⁸ [Лотарев И.В.]. Стихотворения и поэмы: 1918—1941 / Сост., послесл. и примеч. Юрия

претациями выступали и некоторые его современники и сподвижники, в частности А.В. Туфанов⁹ и, надо думать, весьма компетентный в данном вопросе П.М. Фофанов (Теос) (дядя Олимпова по отцу).¹⁰ Олимпов также давал вполне символистские объяснения загадочной эмблемы.¹¹ Все причастные к эгофутуризму авторы находили в марке ‘Его.’ глубокий смысл и удачную форму. В символистском лагере, однако, такие утверждения не встречали поддержки. В.И. Иванов резко отрицательно оценил притязания некоторых представителей творческого молодняка приписать своей деятельности несвойственное ей значение. Он заметил, например: ‘Дух [...] времени прямее всего выразили наши “футуристы”, начертав, в многозначительном треугольнике, бессильно притязающее на многозначительность, самолюбивое Его’.¹²

Группа ‘Его.’ заявила о себе осенью 1911 года, — Северянин впоследствии говорил, что ‘вселенский эго-футуризм’ основан им в ноябре, по утверждению же Олимпова, этот кружок поэтов образовался еще в октябре 1911-го.¹³ Однако, как справедливо отметил один из исследователей вопроса, данный коллектив формировался в течение ряда лет и в общих чертах определился уже около 1909 года.¹⁴ С ранних пор он имел не только приятельский, но и деловой характер: так, летом 1910 года у Северянина и Грааля Арельского были общие издательские дела в петербургской типолитографии И.М. Флейтмана (Казанская улица, 45 / Воз-

[Д.] Шумакова. — М.: Современник, 1990. — С.356 (подп.: *Игорь Северянин*).

⁹ Туфанов Александр [В.]. Эолова арфа: Стихи и проза. — Кн. I. — Пг., 1917. — С.8.

¹⁰ [Фофанов П.М.]. Треугольник ‘Его.’ // Дачница (СПб.). — 1912. — 8 [(21)] июля. — № 3. — С.2 (подп.: *Теос*).

¹¹ См.: [Фофанов К.К.]. Возникновение Эгопоэзии Вселенского Футуризма / Публ. А.В. Крусанова и А.М. Мирзаева // Минувшее: Исторический альманах. — [Вып.] 22. — СПб.: Atheneum; Феникс, 1997. — С.190-191 (подп.: *Константин Олимпов*).

¹² Иванов Вячеслав [И.]. Борозды и межи. — М.: Мусагет, 1916. — С.172-173.

¹³ См.: [Лотарев И.В.]. Доктрины. — [СПб.]: Его, [1912] (подп.: *Игорь Северянин*; воспроизв.: Крусанов А.В. Дороги и тропы русского литературного авангарда: Эго-футуризм (1911-1922 гг.) // Русский разъезд (СПб.). — № 1. — 1993. — С.121-122); а также: Российский государственный архив литературы и искусства (далее РГАЛИ). — Ф.1152 (И.В. Лотарев (Северянин)). — Оп.1. — Ед.хр.13. — Л.89 (это из книги воспоминаний Северянина ‘Уснувшие вёсны’ (1920-е); опубл.: [Лотарев И.В.]. Сочинения: В 5-ти т. — Т.5. — СПб.: Logos, 1996 (подп.: *Игорь Северянин*)). Датировку Олимпова см. в его (и П.М.Фофанова) ответной (на ‘Доктрины’ Северянина) листовке, разосланной по редакциям периодических изданий в октябре 1912 года (воспроизв.: [Казанский И.В.]. Эго-футуризм: Критинка И.В. Игнатъева // Эго-футуристы: [Альманах]. — [Вып.] V. Засахарекры. — [СПб.]: Петербургский глашатай, [1913]. — С.5 (подп.: *И.В. Игнатъев*)). Дату Олимпова приняли как установленную позднейшие исследователи (Харджиев Николай [И.]. Маяковский и Игорь Северянин // Russian Literature (Amsterdam). — [Vol.] VI. — 1978. — October. — [No.] 4. — P.308; Никольская Т.Л. И.Северянин и эгофутуризм // О Игоре Северяnine: Тезисы докладов научной конференции, посвященной 100-летию со дня рождения Игоря Северянина. Череповец, апрель 1987 г. — Череповец, 1987. — С.34).

¹⁴ См.: Крусанов А.В. (примечание 13). — С.110.

несенский проспект, 17).¹⁵ Осенью же 1911-го имевшийся кружок лишь принял самоназвание ‘эгофутуристы’¹⁶ и приступил к пропаганде своего направления различными способами, в том числе через публикации. При этом адресом мифического издательства назывался домашний адрес Северянина: Средняя Подъяческая улица, 5, квартира 8.¹⁷

Поскольку как эгофутурист Северянин сложился под влиянием старшего Фофанова (с которым познакомился 20 ноября (3 декабря) 1907 года), он, естественно, был достаточно близок с конца 1907-го и с его сыном.¹⁸ Поэтому Олимпов смог сразу примкнуть к затее Северянина.

Марка ‘Его.’ впервые появилась в ноябре 1911 года, в 32-й по сквозной нумерации брошюре Северянина — ‘Пролог “Эго-Футуризм”: Поэза-грандиоз’.¹⁹ Это был, по признанию Игнатьева, ‘первый боевой снаряд’ нового движения. Согласно этому же свидетельству, он ‘вызвал переполох необычайный’, ‘ежедневники и еженедельники хрипели до остервенения’.²⁰ Кроме эпатажа консервативной публики, выход в свет первого издания ‘Его.’ имел и важное организационное значение: группа Северянина нашла новых единомышленников, — в частности, с выхода в свет ‘поэзы-грандиоз’ началось сотрудничество северянинцев с Игнатьевым и (несколько позднее) его группой ‘Петербургский глашатай’.²¹

¹⁵ См.: Рукописный отдел Российской Национальной Библиотеки (далее РО РНБ). — Ф.1000 (Собрание отдельных поступлений). — Оп.2. — Ед.хр.1232. — Л.1 (это письмо Северянина к Граалю Арельскому, от 16 (29) августа 1910 года; опубл.: *Богомолов Н.А.* (примечание 4). — С.414).

¹⁶ Термин ‘футуризм’ появился в лексиконе Северянина как минимум весной 1910 года, в его сборнике ‘Колье принцессы’. ‘Эго-футуризм’ был сконструирован им же год спустя (см. его сборник ‘Ручьи в лилиях’). В это же время (16 (29) июля 1911 года) Северянин писал Олипову: ‘[...] Я чувствую, скоро снова вспыхну: предгрозы уже в душе бродит... Эту вспышку посвящу Футуризму, посвящу целиком. — С Божьей помощью!’ (РГАЛИ. — Ф.1718 (К.К. Фофанов (Олимпов)). — Оп.3. — Ед.хр.49. — Л.3 об.-4). В письме к В.Я. Брюсову, от 19 октября (1 ноября) 1911 года, Северянин сообщал о своей работе над циклом ‘Эго-Футуризм’ Рукописный отдел Российской государственной библиотеки (далее РО РГБ). — Ф.386 (В.Я. Брюсов). — Карт.102. — Ед.хр.25. — Л.2). См. также: РГАЛИ. — Ф.1152 (И.В. Лотарев (Северянин)). — Оп.1. — Ед.хр.2. — Л.34-34 об. (воспроизв.: [*Лотарев И.В.*]. Сочинения / Сост. Сергей [Г.] Исаков и Рейн Круус, предисл. Сергея [Г.] Исакова, коммент. Рейна Крууса. — Таллинн: Ээсти раамат, 1990. — С.485 (подп.: *Игорь Северянин*)).

¹⁷ См., например: [*Лотарев И.В.*]. (примечание 7). — 4 с.обл.

¹⁸ См., например, развернутое свидетельство об этом самого Северянина, датированное октябрём 1911 года: [*Лотарев И.В.*]. Фофанов на мызе ‘Ивановка’: Амулеты Игоря Северянина // Дачница (СПб.). — 1912. — 22 июня [(5 июля)]. — № 1. — С.3 (подп.: *Игорь-Северянин*).

¹⁹ См.: Книжная летопись Главного управления по делам печати (СПб.). — 1911. — 3 [(16)] декабря. — № 48. — С.31. — № 29580. Издание поступило в ГУДП с 24 ноября (7 декабря) по 1 (14) декабря 1911 года. Его тираж был — 100 экземпляров. Далее в сносках название ‘Книжной летописи’ дается в сокращенном виде: КЛ ГУДП.

²⁰ *Казанский [И.В.]*. (примечание 2). — С.2.

²¹ См. одобрительную рецензию Игнатьева на ‘поэму-грандиоз’: [*Казанский И.В.*]. Игорь Северянин. Пролог ‘Эго-Футуризм’ [...]: [Рец.] // Нижегородец (Н.Н.). — 1911. — 17 [(30)]

После этого — в декабре 1911 года — под маркой ‘Его.’ вышла первая книга стихов Г.В. Иванова ‘Отплыть на о.[стров] Цитеру: Поэзы’,²² — она была напечатана попечением старшей сестры начинающего поэта, Н.В. Ивановой.²³ На выход книги оперативно откликнулся Игнатъев: ‘Книга издана просто, — отметил он, — и вместе с тем не без претензии на кокетливо-скромное щегольство. (Роскошная бумага верже)’.²⁴ Первые издательские успехи, а затем праздники Нового года и Рождества Христова (связанные с неумеренным потреблением алкоголя) дали мощные импульсы дальнейшим творческим и организационным инициативам этой группы. В мемуарном эскизе ‘Исторический день в русской Эгопоэзии’ Олимпов описал это следующим образом: ‘13 [то есть 26-го, по григорианскому стилю. — Е.Г.] января 1912 года в нервном экстазе составлена новая теория Вселенского Футуризма и положено начало Академии Эгопоэзии. / Предтечами признаны К.М. Фофанов и Мирра Лохвицкая. / Проекторами теории были Игорь [Северянин. — Е.Г.] и я. / По выявлении теории в афоризмы наши души почувствовали сильное облегчение, — поспешили оповестить немедленно же Георгия Иванова и Грааль-Арельского. / Поехали в 10 ч.[асов] вечера на Петерб.[ургскую] ст.[орону] к Г. Иванову,²⁵ но его дома не было (хотели взять клише

ноября. — № 78. — С.3 (подп.: *Ивей*). Как вспоминал позднее (в 1924 году) Северянин, именно с этой рецензии началось его знакомство с Игнатъевым (РГАЛИ. — Ф.1152 (И.В. Лотарев (Северянин)). — Оп.1. — Ед.хр.13. — Л.107-108). Вслед за первой рецензией появились отклики Игнатьева в ‘Нижегородце’ и на другие издания авторов северянинского круга. Впоследствии, с организацией Игнатъевым ‘Петербургского глашатая’, авторы ‘Его.’ принимали активное участие в его делах.

²² См.: КЛ ГУДП (СПб.). — 1912. — 7 [(20)] января. — № 1. — С.14. — № 246. Издание поступило в ГУДП с 20 декабря 1911 (2 января 1912) года по 3 (16) января 1912-го (на книге указан 1912 год), из типолитографии В.С. Борозина (Гороховая улица, 12 / Морская улица, 23), где была отпечатана тиражом в 300 экземпляров.

²³ См.: [Крейденков В.П.]. Об авторе этой книги // Иванов Георгий [В.]. Мемуары и рассказы. — [Рыбинск; указ.: М., Париж, Н.-Й.]: Прогресс; Третья волна, [1992]. — С.4 (подп.: *Вадим Крейд*). Сестре и была посвящена книга.

²⁴ [Казанский И.В.]. Георгий Иванов. ‘Отплыть на остров Цитеру’ [...]: [Рец.] // Нижегородец (Н.Н.). — 1912. — 14 [(27)] января. — № 103. — С.2 (подп.: *Ивей*).

²⁵ Адрес Г.В. Иванова в то время был: Большая Зеленина улица, 26-б, квартира 69. Иванов примкнул к северянинскому кружку в мае 1911 года. См. подробнее: РГАЛИ. — Ф.1152 (И.В. Лотарев (Северянин)). — Оп.1. — Ед.хр.13. — Л.88 (это фрагмент книги Северянина ‘Уснувшие вёсны’; опубл.: [Лотарев И.В.]. Успехи Жоржа: (‘Сады’ Георгия Иванова) // За свободу! (Варшава). — 1925. — 8 ноября (подп.: *Игорь Северянин*)); а также: Богомолов Н.А. Русская литература первой трети XX века (примечание 4). — С.406-422. По свидетельству А.Ю. Арьева, участие Г.В. Иванова в эгофутуристическом движении не расценивалось им самим как значительный эпизод творческой биографии и явилось лишь мимолетным этапом стремительного перехода начинающего поэта от эстетической перверсии к нормативности: ‘После кратких эскапад под крылом “доктора от футуризма” Николая Кульбина и недолгих эгофутуристических самоутверждений в лагере Игоря Северянина, Грааль-Арельского и Константина Олимпова Г.И. [Иванов] по-настоящему ощутил себя литератором в акмеистской среде’ (Тулон... Тамань... Туман: (Письмо Георгия [В.]

‘Его.’), тогда навестили Граалю²⁶ и сообщили о нашем открытии. / Он присоединился к нашей теории. / Приобратнили к 12 ч.[асам] ночи на Ср.[еднюю] Под.[ьяческую].²⁷ / ... Теория блестяще отвечает на все вопросы мира, — каждая скрижаль взвешена и проэкзаменирована нами. / Политики в теории Вселенского Футуризма Академии Эгопоэзии не существует, — преследуются только цели прогресса Искусства. / Выработан устав, решено просить разрешение на утверждение. / Книги, изданные Академией Эгопоэзии, будут называться нервниками, в отличие [от] обыкновенных альманахов и сборников. / В год — по 2 экземпляра, в январе и в июле. / Георгий Иванов и Грааль Арельский присоединились к теории и пожелали выставить на печатных бланках свои фамилии’.²⁸ 17 (30) января 1912 года под маркой ‘Его.’ была выпущена тиражом в 500 экземпляров листовка ‘Скрижали’, объявлявшая о создании ‘Академии эгопоэзии’ и подписанная Северяниным, Олиповым, Ивановым и Граалем Арельским.²⁹ Дата ее выхода устанавливается, в частности, по письму Северянина к Граалю Арельскому, от 16 (29) января 1912 года, — где автор сообщает, что корректура листовки им уже просмотрена и на следующий день тираж надо выкупать из типографии. Согласно этому письму, печатание листовки стоило группе четыре рубля, причем расходы были распределены между четырьмя участниками группы ‘Его.’ поровну — каждый внес по рублю.³⁰ В позднейших воспоминаниях Олипова, записанных А.Г. Островским, имеются некоторые уточнения и дополнения: ‘17 января. Получены из типографии печатные листы в количестве 510 штук (10 на бристоле) [...]. Решено теорию и устав [‘Академии эгопоэзии’. — Е.Г.] перевести и издать на итальянском и французском языках’.³¹ Современный наблюдатель констатировал, что ‘Скрижали’ ‘Академии эгопоэзии’, несмотря на малый объем, представляют собой действительно программное издание, в котором ‘точно и обстоятельно

Иванова Владимиру [Ф.] Маркову) / [Вступ. статья], публ. [и примеч.] А.[Ю.] Арьева // Минувшее: Исторический альманах. — [Вып.] 19. — [СПб.; указ.: М., СПб.]: Atheneum; Феникс, 1996. — С.264).

²⁶ Предположительно, адрес С.С. Петрова (Граалю Арельского) в то время был: Большая Белозерская улица, 15.

²⁷ См. примечание 17.

²⁸ РГАЛИ. — Ф.1718 (К.К. Фофанов (Олипов)). — Оп.1. — Ед.хр.23. — Л.2-3 (это рукопись без даты); см. также опубликованный, существенно отличающийся вариант: [Фофанов К.К.]. (примечание 11). — С.188. Кроме того, ср. с аналогичными воспоминаниями Олипова, записанными А.Г. Островским: *Богомолов Н.А.* (примечание 4). — С.416-417.

²⁹ Листовка воспроизведена: *Казанский [И.В.]*. (примечание 2). — С.2; и др.

³⁰ См.: РО РНБ. — Ф.1000 (Собрание отдельных поступлений). — Оп.2. — Ед.хр.1232. — Л.2; опубл.: *Богомолов Н.А.* (примечание 4). — С.417.

³¹ *Богомолов Н.А.* (примечание 4). — С.417; ср.: [Фофанов К.К.]. (примечание 11). — С.193.

закljučается credo эго-футуризма’.³² Позднейший комментатор иначе оценил это издание эгофутуристов: ‘Несмотря на пышную фразеологию этой декларации, в ней нельзя обнаружить ни четкой литературной программы, ни определенной философской концепции. Основное положение эго-футуристов — культ собственной личности — было заимствовано ими из идеологического арсенала символистов и доведено до степени примитивно понятого солипсизма’.³³ Можно утверждать, однако, что недостаточная теоретическая основательность эгофутуристического манифеста (если она действительно имела место) с лихвой была компенсирована решительностью и предприимчивостью авторов этого издания. Они оперативно распространили свою листовку по редакциям газет и журналов многих городов империи. ‘Мы издали “манифест”, — написал позднее в мемуарах Северянин, — разослали его по редакциям почти всей России, записались в “Бюро газетных вырезок” и стали ждать откликов прессы. Эти отклики не заставили себя долго ждать, и вскоре мы были буквально завалены вырезками с отборной руганью по нашему адресу [...]. Получали мы и сочувственные письма и отзывы, но справедливость требует сказать, что их было очень и очень немного’.³⁴

Впоследствии (в 1930 году) Олимпов официально зафиксировал основные вехи своей биографии: ‘Занимаюсь поэтическим творчеством с 1908 г[ода]. Печататься начал с 1911 г.[ода,] главным образом на свои средства’.³⁵ Можно утверждать во всяком случае, что его первые публикации, выпущенные под маркой ‘Его.’, оплачивались им самим.

Первым ‘нервником’ новообразованной ‘Академии эгопоэзии’ стала листовка ‘Аэропланые поэзы’ Олимпова, вышедшая в начале марта 1912 года.³⁶ После ее появления поэт-ветеран К.Е. Антонов отправил автору

³² Казанский [И.В.]. (примечание 2). — С.2. Впоследствии, правда, он пересмотрел эту оценку: после расхождения с Северяниным, летом 1913 года, Игнатъев заметил, что ‘скрижали не говорят нам ничего нового’ и являются всего лишь декларацией ‘эго-северянизма’ ([Казанский И.В.]. Эго-футуризм. — [Н.Н.]: Петербургский глашатай, 1913. — С.3 (подп.: И.В. Игнатъев). Очерк ‘Эго-футуризм’ был написан Игнатъевым 10 (23) июля 1913 года. См.: РГАЛИ. — Ф.2144 (И.В. Казанский (Игнатъев)). — Оп.1. — Ед.хр.6. — Л.12).

³³ Харджиев Николай [И.]. (примечание 13). — С.308.

³⁴ РГАЛИ. — Ф.1152 (И.В. Лотарев (Северянин)). — Оп.1. — Ед.хр.13. — Л.89-90 (это из книги воспоминаний Северянина ‘Уснувшие вёсны’). О реакции прессы на выход ‘Скрижалей’ см. подробнее: Крусанов А.В. (примечание 13). — С.116-117.

³⁵ Из истории эгофутуризма (примечание 5). — С.245 (это из протокола допроса, написанного Олимповым совместно со следователем ОГПУ А.В. Бузниковым 22 сентября 1930 года).

³⁶ См.: КЛ ГУДП (СПб.). — 1912. — 17 [(30)] марта. — № 11. — С.14. — № 7593. Листовка была отмечена знаком ‘Его.’ и невероятно высокой по тем временам ценой — 50 копеек. Отпечатана она была не позднее 4 (17) марта (см.: РГАЛИ. — Ф.1718 (К.К. Фофанов (Олимпов)). — Оп.1. — Ед.хр.34. — Л.8) в типографии ‘Улей’ тиражом 200 экземпляров и поступила в ГУДП с 6 (19) по 13 (26) марта. См. также экземпляр И.К. Пархоменко, с

письмо, в котором заявил о неоригинальности и творческой бессмысленности предприятия 'Его.': 'Заглохшая уже четверть века тому назад проба развлечения читателя декадансом воскреснуть уже не может, тем более, что читатель совершенствуется видимыми изменениями и требованиями жизни. Из полученного листа "аэропланнские поэты" ничего путного не вынес [...]. "Его" — хорошо. Но какое это "его", вот вопрос, перед которым весь ректориат Ваш стоит с повязками на лбу. Повязка сия снимается только Христом, и никем иным!'³⁷ Однако такие предостережения не имели действия. Вскоре увидели свет сборники Северянина 'Качалка грёзёрки: Поэты'³⁸ и 'Очам твоей души: Поэты',³⁹ было вновь подтверждено намерение группы активно продолжать издательские усилия.

Еще с февраля в печати анонсировался готовящийся выпуск газеты 'Футура' (издания 'Академии эгопоэзии').⁴⁰ В марте 1912 года было объявлено, что 'на днях' поступит в продажу 'нервник II-й' (или 'кровь вторая') Олимпова — 'Фиургия' — и его же 'кровь третья' — 'Исповедь футуриста'.⁴¹ Заявлялось также, что издательство 'Его.' готовит к печати книгу К.М. Фофанова 'Поэты Игорю Северянину',⁴² очередной сборник поэтов Северянина 'Элегантные модели',⁴³ его же 'Полное собрание поэтов', состоящее из трех томов; под маркой 'Его.' собирался издать вторую книгу своих поэтов Г.В. Иванов.⁴⁴ Был анонсирован и альманах 'Его.' — с поэтами Северянина, Грааля Арельского, Иванова, Олимпова, И.С.

авторским инскриптом (РГАЛИ. — Ф.1718 (К.К. Фофанов (Олимпов)). — Оп.1. — Ед.хр.22. — Л.6).

³⁷ РГАЛИ. — Ф.1718 (К.К. Фофанов (Олимпов)). — Оп.1. — Ед.хр.34. — Л.8-8 об. (это письмо от 4 (17) марта 1912 года).

³⁸ См.: КЛ ГУДП (СПб.). — 1912. — 31 марта [(13 апреля)]. — № 13. — С.21. — № 9013. Издание поступило в ГУДП с 20 по 27 марта (со 2 по 9 апреля). Его тираж был — 100 экземпляров.

³⁹ См.: Там же. — 21 апреля [(4 мая)]. — № 16. — С.30. — № 10829. Издание поступило в ГУДП с 10 (23) по 17 (30) апреля. Его тираж был тот же.

⁴⁰ См.: Петербургский глашатай (СПб.). — № 1. — 1912. — 12 [(25)] февраля. — С.4. Здесь указана дата ожидаемого выхода 'Футуры' — 15 (28) февраля 1912 года.

⁴¹ См.: Там же. — № 2. — 1912. — 11 [(24)] марта. — С.4; [Фофанов К.К.]. Аэропланнские поэты: Нервник I. — [СПб.; указ.: Окно Европы]: Его, 1912 (подп.: Константин Олимпов). Согласно последнему источнику, и 'кровь вторая' и 'кровь третья' к моменту выхода 'Аэропланнских поэтов' уже были 'олирены' и предполагались к выпуску в недалеком будущем. Некоторое время спустя (в июне 1913 года) Олимпов заключил договор на издание 'Исповеди футуриста' с Игнатьевым (см. подробнее: Никольская Т.Л. (примечание 5). — С.428).

⁴² См.: [Лотарев И.В.]. Качалка грёзёрки (примечание 7). — 4 с.обл. Здесь же дано содержание будущей книги.

⁴³ [Б.н.]. [Рекламное объявление] // Нижегородец (Н.Н.). — 1912. — 20 августа (2 сентября). — № 148. — С.4. Здесь сообщается, что 35-я брошюра Северянина (она же 3-я книга 4-го тома 'Сады футуриста') 'Элегантные модели' выходит в издании 'Его.' и в сентябре поступит в книжные магазины 'Нового времени' (А.С. Суворина).

⁴⁴ Иванов Георгий [В.]. Отплытие на о. Цитеру: Поэты: Книга первая. — СПб.: Его, 1912. — 3-4 с.обл.

Лукаша (Оредежа) и некоторых других авторов.⁴⁵

Все эти планы, однако, не осуществились, — так как вскоре группа ‘Его.’ распалась.

Важным обстоятельством, повлиявшим на судьбу группы, была поддержка ее (с осени 1911 года) одним из лидеров русского символизма В.Я. Брюсовым. Он с большим интересом относился к творчеству Северянина, называл младшего коллегу ‘главой русского футуризма’⁴⁶ и предрекал ему большое будущее. Олимпов, также имевший знакомство с Брюсовым, но не вызывавший у него особого интереса, очень ревниво относился к успехам своего коллеги и претендовал на лидирующее положение в группе.⁴⁷ Амбициозный Олимпов страдал тем более, что Северянин действительно порой допускал бестактности по отношению к нему. Чашу терпения Олимпова переполнило то, что ранней осенью 1912 года Северянин выпустил издание под названием ‘Доктрины’, в котором заявлял о своем праве считаться основателем эгофутуризма.⁴⁸ Уязвленный Олимпов отреагировал выпуском в свет листовки — открытого письма, которое было разослано по редакциям периодических изданий. В тексте этой ‘Хартии’ содержались обвинения Северянина в узурпации титула основателя эгофутуризма и утверждения, что идеологом и организатором движения был все-таки Олимпов.⁴⁹ Оскорбленный Северянин выступил с новой листовкой — ‘Открытым письмом’, — где пор-

⁴⁵ Там же. — 3 с.обл.

⁴⁶ *Брюсов Валерий* [Я.]. Год русской поэзии: (Апрель 1913 г. — апрель 1914 г.): Порубежники // *Русская мысль* (М.). — 1914. — [Июнь]. — Кн. VI. — [Отд. 3]. — С. 14.

⁴⁷ См. подробнее: [Лотарев И.В.]. Стихотворения и поэмы (примечание 8). — С. 384; Судьба поэта: (Из воспоминаний Игоря Северянина) / Публ., [предисл.] и послесл. Е.Ю. Филькиной // *Встречи с прошлым*: [Сб. м-лов]. — [Вып. 4]. — [Электросталь; указ.: М.]: Сов. Россия, 1982. — С. 130-132; [Казанский И.В.]. (примечание 13). — С. 5-7; а также свидетельства самого Олимпова: черновик его открытого письма к С.А. Венгерову (1914) (РГАЛИ. — Ф. 1718 (К.К. Фофанов (Олимпов)). — Оп. 1. — Ед.хр. 23. — Л. 5) и недатированные (по-видимому, начала 1920-х годов) варианты его же сочинения ‘Возникновение Эгопоэзии Вселенского Футуризма’, где, в частности, автор заявил: ‘Основателем литературного футуризма являюсь я — Великий Константин Олимпов — и никто другой’ (РГАЛИ. — Ф. 1718 (К.К. Фофанов (Олимпов)). — Оп. 1. — Ед.хр. 1. — Л. 30; [Фофанов К.К.]. Возникновение Эгопоэзии Вселенского Футуризма (примечание 11). — С. 188).

⁴⁸ См. примечание 13. Листовка вышла в сентябре, как позднее засвидетельствовал Игнатъев (Казанский [И.В.]. Первый год эго-футуризма (примечание 2). — С. 4). Авторизованный экземпляр этой листовки, посланный Северяниным по почте А.Д. Скалдину, имеет штампель ‘14.09.12’ (РГАЛИ. — Ф. 487 (А.Д. Скалдин). — Оп. 1. — Ед.хр. 81. — Л. 4), что позволяет несколько уточнить дату выхода в свет этого издания. Содержание ‘Доктрин’ было оценено Игнатьевым так: ‘Все пункты “доктрин” кроме одного являются популяризацией, разжижением квинт-эссенции — “скрижалей”’ (РГАЛИ. — Ф. 2144 (И.В. Казанский (Игнатьев)). — Оп. 1. — Ед.хр. 6. — Л. 6). О реакции печати на это издание Северянина см.: Крусанов А.В. (примечание 13). — С. 122.

⁴⁹ Текст ‘Хартии интуитивной школы Вселенский эго-футуризм’, распространявшейся Олимповым в октябре 1912 года, воспроизв.: [Казанский И.В.]. (примечание 13). — С. 6.

ищал конкурента за клевету и давал понять, что вообще эгофутуризм для него более не актуален.⁵⁰ Олимпов не растерялся и издал листовку 'Декларация', с подтверждением заявленной прежде позиции.⁵¹ Северянин в ответ опубликовал в 'Биржевых ведомостях' открытое письмо, где заявил, в частности, о выходе из кружка 'Его.' и вообще из эгофутуристического движения, мотивировав это, между прочим, нежеланием печататься впредь вместе с Олиповым.⁵² Помимо этого, Северянин издал поэтическую брошюру 'Эпилог "Эго-Футуризм"',⁵³ где высказался по поводу своего решения.

Всё это имело тем большее значение, что к моменту конфликта Северянин и Олимпов оставались последними из инициативной четверки участниками объединения, сохранявшими ему верность: Иванов и Грааль Арельский вышли из 'Его.' еще весной 1912 года.⁵⁴

Когда произошла распря с Олиповым, Северянин решил 'ликвидировать издательство'.⁵⁵ Это, однако, оказалось не так просто осуществить: Олимпов завладел типографским клише 'Его.' и начал издавать

⁵⁰ Печатную листовку 'Открытое письмо Игоря Северянина' (текст датирован 23 октября (5 ноября) 1912 года), посланную автором А.Д. Скалдину, см.: РГАЛИ. — Ф.487 (А.Д. Скалдин). — Оп.1. — Ед.хр.81. — Л.3. Марка 'Его.' на ней отсутствует.

⁵¹ См.: [Фофанов К.К.]. Декларация Константина Олипова. — СПб.: [Изд. автора], 1912 (подп.: Константин Олимпов (К.К. Фофанов); воспроизв.: [Казанский И.В.]. Эго-футуризм (примечание 13). — С.6-7). Текст датирован 27 октября (9 ноября) 1912 года; марка 'Его.' также отсутствует.

⁵² [Лотарев И.В.]. Письмо в редакцию // Биржевые ведомости (СПб.). — Веч. вып. — 1912. — 21 ноября (4 декабря). — № 13260. — С.4 (подп.: Игорь-Северянин).

⁵³ См.: КЛ ГУДП (СПб.). — 1912. — 9 [(22)] декабря. — № 48. — С.7. — № 32646. Издание поступило в ГУДП с 26 ноября (9 декабря) по 3 (16) декабря. Четырехстраничная брошюра была отпечатана обычным для Северянина тиражом 100 экземпляров. Марки 'Его.' на ней также уже не было. Хотя текст датирован полднем 24-го октября (6-го ноября), вышло издание несколько позднее. Момент его выхода устанавливается по: [Казанский И.В.]. (примечание 13). — С.7. См. также экземпляр брошюры, хранящийся в Музее книги (РГБ): на нем есть дарственная надпись Северянина Брюсову, датированная 8 (21) декабря 1912 года. Таким образом, можно быть уверенными, что 'Эпилог "Эго-Футуризм"' был выпущен в конце ноября или начале декабря 1912-го. В письме к Брюсову, от 20 ноября (3 декабря) 1912 года Северянин сообщал о причинах задержки: 'Забастовки и небрежность наших типографий сделали то, что [...] мой "Эпилог" выйдет на две недели позднее назначенного срока' (РО РГБ. — Ф.386 (В.Я. Брюсов). — Карт.102. — Ед.хр.25. — Л.17-18). См. свидетельство одного из сотрудников журнала 'Сатирикон' В.А. Раппопорта (Регинина) о том, что Северянин лично разносил 'Эпилог' по столичным редакциям (мемуарная записка Регинина вклеена в экземпляр брошюры из библиотеки А.К. Тарасенкова, хранящемся ныне в Музее книги (РГБ)).

⁵⁴ См. подробнее: Богомолов Н.А. (примечание 4). — С.418-422.

⁵⁵ См. его недатированное письмо к Шершеневичу: Шершеневич Вадим [Г.]. Великолепный очевидец: Поэтические воспоминания 1910-1925 гг. // Мой век, мои друзья и подруги: Воспоминания Мариенгофа, Шершеневича, Грузинова / Сост. С.В. Шумихина и К.С. Юрьева, вступ. статья и коммент. С.В. Шумихина. — [М.]: Моск. рабочий, 1990. — С.487-488.

свое творчество под этой маркой.⁵⁶

2. Участие в изданиях Игнатьева

Кроме того, на издательской ниве Олимпов сотрудничал с другим лидером эгофутуризма — Игнатьевым.

В течение некоторого времени Олимпов числился сотрудником газеты ‘Петербургский глашатай’, — точнее, членом ее ‘Дирекции’, бывшей, как считалось, коллективным руководящим органом этого издания. Постоянное участие в заседаниях ‘Дирекции’ принимали также Северянин, Грааль-Арельский, Г.В. Иванов, Д.А. Николаев (Дорин), Лукаш, П. Ларионов (Перунчик) и, конечно, сам Игнатьев.⁵⁷ Собрания обычно происходили дома у последнего и сопровождались неумеренным потреблением алкоголя. Таким образом, в действительности ‘Дирекция’ выполняла, фактически, декоративные (и отчасти референтные) функции, по очевидным причинам не обладая способностью быть рабочим органом.

В начале 1912 года, перед тем, как выпустить первый номер ‘Петербургского глашатая’ в свет, Игнатьев устроил шумную презентацию в ресторане ‘Вена’ (угол Гороховой улицы и улицы Гоголя (бывшей Малой Морской)). На этом банкете присутствовал и Олимпов. Впоследствии Игнатьев печатал его и в ‘Петербургском глашатае’, и в других периодических изданиях, к работе которых имел отношение. В частности, в принадлежавшей его родственнику в Нижнем Новгороде В.П. Успенскому⁵⁸ газете ‘Нижегородец’ (1911—1914). Печатались тексты Олимпова также в альманахе ‘Петербургского глашатая’ (1912—1914). После скандала с Северяниным в конце 1912 года Олимпов разорвал, было, отношения и с Игнатьевым, и тому пришлось затем (весной 1913 года) уговаривать коллегу не бойкотировать ‘Петербургского глашатая’.⁵⁹ Путем печатного осуждения Северянина (в сборнике ‘Засахаре кры’), сложной дипломатии и трат на ликерные ‘возлияния’ Игнатьеву удалось вернуть Олимпова к сотрудничеству. В июне 1913 года был заключен договор на издание его сборника поэз ‘Исповедь футуриста’,⁶⁰ в июле под маркой ‘Петербургского глашатая’ вышла брошюра Олимпова ‘Жонглеры-нервы’, включившая все опубликованное им ранее.⁶¹ Беря реванш за прошлые

⁵⁶ См. публикации Олимпова в позднее вышедших альманахах ‘Петербургского глашатая’ ‘Всегда’ (июль 1913 года) и ‘Развороченные черепа’ (сентябрь 1913-го), а также листовку Олимпова ‘Эпоха Олимпова’ (август 1914-го).

⁵⁷ См.: [Лотарев И.В.]. Газета ребенка // За свободу! (Варшава). — 1925. — 9 января. — С.2 (подп.: Игорь Северянин).

⁵⁸ См.: Марков Владимир [Ф.]. (примечание 3). — С.502.

⁵⁹ РГАЛИ. — Ф.1718 (К.К. Фофанов (Олимпов)). — Оп.3. — Ед.хр.46. — Л.1. Курсив Игнатьева.

⁶⁰ См. примечание 41.

⁶¹ См.: КЛ ГУДП (СПб.). — 1913. — 20 июля [(2 августа)]. — № 28. — С.12. — № 17643.

обида, поэт стал печатать в игнатьевском альманахе свое творчество под знаком 'Его.' Кончилось все подлинным торжеством Олимпова: на обложке последнего, девятого альманаха был напечатан его портрет работы И.Е. Репина.⁶²

В отличие от северянинского проекта, где основную часть расходов на свои публикации Олимпову приходилось нести самостоятельно, 'Петербургский глашатай' предоставлял поэту гораздо более выгодные условия и даже давал некоторый заработок.

3. Самостоятельная издательская деятельность

Из сказанного выше понятно, что участие Олимпова в чужих издательских предприятиях имело вполне эпизодический и вынужденный характер. Он участвовал в них, когда ожидал от этого какой-либо практической выгоды для себя лично. Но поскольку существенных доходов от сотрудничества с Северяниным и Игнатьевым Олимпов не получал,⁶³ морального удовлетворения тоже, — ему приходилось заниматься самостоятельной издательской деятельностью. При этом в отличие от Северянина и Игнатьева (которые издавали и чужие тексты) он был гораздо более последователен в своем эгофутуризме: печатал только себя.

После выхода в свет (под маркой 'Его.') листовки 'Аэропланые поэты: Нервник I' и (под маркой 'Петербургского глашатая') сборничка 'Жонглеры-нервы', Олимпову удалось напечатать несколько своих произведений совершенно самостоятельно: 'Отдых I' (1913),⁶⁴ листовку 'Эпоха Олимпова: Вселенский Олимпизм' (1914),⁶⁵ брошюру 'Феном-

Издание поступило в ГУДП с 8 (21) по 15 (28) июля. Его указанный тираж — 5000 экземпляров — явно ложен. Реальный, наиболее вероятно, не превысил обычных 500 экземпляров. Исправленный и дополненный автором сборник 'Жонглеры-нервы' см.: РГАЛИ. — Ф.1718 (К.К. Фофанов (Олимпов)). — Оп.1. — Ед.хр.22. — Л.14-20.

⁶² См.: КЛ ГУДП (СПб.). — 1913. — 5 [(18)] октября. — № 39. — С.21. — № 25073. Издание поступило в ГУДП с 24 сентября (7 октября) по 1 (14) октября. Его тираж был — 300 экземпляров.

⁶³ См.: *Шершеневич Вадим [Г.]*. (примечание 55). — С.496-497.

⁶⁴ Обнаружить это издание не удалось. Сведения о нем см.: [Фофанов К.К.]. Третье Рождество Великого Мирового Поэта Титанизма Великой Социальной Революции Константина Олимпова, Родителя Мироздания. — [Пг.; указ.: Окно Европы]: Руины неба, [1922]. — С.8 (подп.: *Константин Олимпов*). Упомянул это издание как реально существующее и В.Ф. Марков. См.: *Марков Владимир [Ф.]*. (примечание 3). — С.505. Отметим, что в альманахе 'Развороченные черепа' (примечание 56) были опубликованы два стихотворения Олимпова с пометкой 'Отдых I' и эмблемой 'Его.' Возможно, это фрагмент не найденного нами издания, но возможно также, что именно эта публикация и имела в виду как Олимповым, так и Марковым.

⁶⁵ См.: КЛ ГУДП (Пг.). — 1914. — 30 августа [(12 сентября)]. — № 34. — С.18. — № 21108. Издание поступило в ГУДП с 21 по 28 августа (с 3 по 10 сентября). Его тираж был — 500 экземпляров. Это стало последним изданием Олимпова под маркой 'Его.', —

енальная Гениальная Поэма Теоман Великого Мирового Поэта Константина Олимпова’ (в действительности представлявшую читателю, как указывал сам автор, лишь незначительную — ‘одну сотую’ — часть полного текста поэмы) (1915),⁶⁶ и четыре листовки — ‘Глагол Родителя Мироздания: Негодяям и мерзавцам’ (1916),⁶⁷ ‘Проземий Родителя Мироздания: Идиотам и кретидам’ (1916),⁶⁸ ‘Исход Родителя Мироздания: Прохвостам и прощальгам’ (1916)⁶⁹ и ‘Паррезия Родителя Мироздания: Разгоните Святейший Синод. Долой духовенство. Социально-Демократическая Федеративная Республика’ (1917),⁷⁰ — все четыре являлись своеобразными продолжениями ранее опубликованного фрагмента поэмы ‘Теоман’. На этом предреволюционная издательская деятельность Олимпова завершилась.

Впоследствии поэт не прекращал попыток выпускать свои сочинения. В начале 1920-х годов, в период НЭПа (когда появилась легальная возможность частного издательства), он принял участие в ‘Кольце поэтов имени К.М. Фофанова’.⁷¹ Это было литературное объединение, являвшееся одним из изводов дореволюционного эгофутуризма и включавшее, кроме Олимпова, С.Е. Ауслендера (Нельдихена), К.К. Вагинова, К.М. Маньковского, Б.В. Смиренского и его брата В.В. Смиренского (Андрея Скорбного). Организаторы ‘Кольца поэтов имени К.М. Фофанова’

и сама эмблема была воспроизведена здесь уже не клише, а набором. Возможно, данный факт объясняется тем, что листовка печаталась в Риге.

⁶⁶ См.: Там же. — 1915. — 14 [(27)] февраля. — № 7. — С.20. — № 4009. Издание поступило в ГУДП с 4 (17) по 11 (24) февраля. Его тираж был — 150 экземпляров. Как впоследствии утверждал Олимпов, издание было конфисковано (см.: [Фофанов К.К.]. (примечание 64). — С.8). Это было повторено и в позднейшей литературе (см.: Из истории эгофутуризма (примечание 5). — С.210; Никольская Т.Л. (примечание 5). — С.429). Однако никаких подтверждений этому найти не удалось, в КЛ ГУДП (где регулярно публиковалась информация о цензурных преследованиях как повременной, так и неповременной печати) не обнаружено ничего об аресте названного издания Олимпова. Реальные проблемы с цензурой возникли у поэта уже после Октября (см. примечание 73).

⁶⁷ См.: КЛ ГУДП (Пг.). — 1916. — 14 [(27)] мая. — № 19. — С.9. — № 7836. Издание поступило в ГУДП с 3 (16) по 10 (23) мая. Его тираж был — 500 экземпляров.

⁶⁸ См.: Там же. — 1 [(14)] октября. — № 39. — С.7. — № 14261. Издание поступило в ГУДП с 20 по 27 сентября (с 3 по 10 октября). Его тираж был — 500 экземпляров. Текст этой листовки см. также: [Б.н.]. Любители негрityнок // Синий журнал (Пг.). — 1916. — 22 октября [(4 ноября)]. — № 43. — С.15.

⁶⁹ См.: РГАЛИ. — Ф.1718 (К.К. Фофанов (Олимпов)). — Оп.1. — Ед.хр.22. — Л.4.

⁷⁰ См.: [Фофанов К.К.]. Паррезия Родителя Мироздания: Разгоните Святейший Синод. Долой духовенство. Социально-Демократическая Федеративная Республика. — [Пг.]: [Изд. автора], [1917] (подп.: Константин Олимпов).

⁷¹ См.: Никольская Т.Л. К.К. Вагинов: (Канва биографии и творчества) // Четвертые тыняновские чтения: Тезисы докладов и материалы для обсуждения. — Рига: Зинатне, 1988. — С.69-70, 79; а также: Тимофеев А.Г. Материалы М.А.Кузмина в Рукописном отделе Пушкинского дома: (Некоторые дополнения) // Ежегодник Рукописного отдела Пушкинского дома на 1991 год. — СПб.: Академич. проект, 1994. — С.53-55; Из истории эгофутуризма (примечание 5). — С.215-220.

строили обширные издательские планы, но не преуспели в их осуществлении. В начале апреля 1922 года Олимпов выпустил в Петрограде антирелигиозную листовку ‘Анафема Родителя Мироздания: (Проституткам и проституткам)’, — под маркой издательства ‘Аббатство гаеров’,⁷² — после чего имел некоторые проблемы с цензурой.⁷³ Несколько позднее, в начале октября, также в Петрограде, но уже под маркой ‘Руины неба’, он отпечатал тиражом 500 экземпляров небольшую брошюру ‘Третье Рождество Великого Мирового Поэта Титанизма Великой Социальной Революции Константина Олимпова, Родителя Мироздания’. На этом издательская активность Олимпова перестала быть продуктивной: объявленный в ‘Третьем Рождестве’ сборник ‘ритмей’ Олимпова, Б.В. Смиренского и В.В. Смиренского (Андрея Скорбного) ‘Вселенные — по черепам’ в свет не вышел,⁷⁴ остался неизданным и ряд других произведений Олимпова.⁷⁵ Попытки обращаться в разные издательства и организации (например, в Госиздат и во ВЦИК), с предложениями об издании стихов, успеха также не принесли.⁷⁶

На протяжении своей жизни в издательской сфере Олимпов пользовался услугами разных типографий. Поскольку эстетом он не был и качество печати не имело для него существенного значения, в выборе полиграфических заведений для размещения своих заказов Олимпов всегда руководствовался единственным соображением: искал дешевизны. Его публикации, осуществленные при поддержке Игнатьева, изготавливались в столичной типографии Товарищества ‘Свет’ (Невский проспект, 136). То, что Олимпов выпускал сам, он печатал в несколько (или даже значительно) более дешевых полиграфических заведениях: типографиях Д.А. Алексеева (Вознесенский проспект, 9 / Максимилиановский переулок, 2), Ш.Б. Зархи (Клинский проспект, 28 / Матятин переулок, 1 / Забалканский проспект, 42), С.Л. Кинда (Казанская улица, 44), ‘Улей’ Х.И. Кофкова и Ш.С. Рутштейна (Кирпичный переулок, 3 / Морская улица, 13). Одну из листовок — ‘Эпоха Олимпова’ — поэт издал в рижской типографии ‘Б. Серенсен и К°’. В советское время он печатался

⁷² См. подробнее об этом литературном предприятии: *Никольская Т.Л.* (примечание 71). — С.69; Из истории эгофутуризма (примечание 5). — С.218-219, 239.

⁷³ Там же. — С.233-234, 239.

⁷⁴ См. анонс неосуществленного издания: [Фофанов К.К.]. Третье Рождество Великого Мирового Поэта Титанизма Великой Социальной Революции Константина Олимпова, Родителя Мироздания (примечание 64). — С.8. О некоторых обстоятельствах, связанных с этим проектом, см.: Из истории эгофутуризма (примечание 5). — С.218-219.

⁷⁵ См.: Из истории эгофутуризма (примечание 5). — С.235-237; *Никольская Т.Л.* (примечание 5). — С.429.

⁷⁶ См.: *Смиренский В.[В.]*. Поэт на свалке // Иллюстрированная бытовая газета (Л.). — 1929. — 1-5 июля. — № 43. — С.6; Из истории эгофутуризма (примечание 5). — С.238-239, 245.

в типографии при политотделе Увузпетво (Управления высших учебных заведений Петроградского военного округа) (Васильевский остров, Съездовская (до октября 1918 года Кадетская) линия, 5 / Двинский переулок, 1).⁷⁷

4. Отношения с аудиторией

В.Ф. Марков, оценивая печатную продукцию Олимпова, заключил, что она представляет собой результат его душевной болезни.⁷⁸ По-видимому, это не совсем верно: хотя Олимпов и имел некоторые ментальные проблемы и страдал наследственным алкоголизмом, объяснять его литературные и издательские достижения исключительно этим — значит исказить реальную картину. Поэт последовательно шел в искусстве своим собственным путем, его творчество было осознанным, концептуально самостоятельным и вполне уникальным, — надо признать, что оно существенно расширяло представления современников о возможностях литературы и вообще искусства. Олимпов имел не только осмысленную литературную позицию и соответствующую ей стратегию, но и использовал весьма рациональные тактики в отношениях с коллегами и аудиторией. Это было отважное поведение, так как в большой степени было направлено на конфронтацию и эпатаж — как публики, так и коллег, — начиная от выбора поэтом псевдонима и кончая немислимыми ценами на его изданиях, скандалом с обвинениями популярнейшего Северянина в плагиате и эксцентричным поведением в обществе. Северянин впоследствии (в 1923 году) отметил в воспоминаниях, что лично у него ‘футурист Олимпов оставил после себя печальную память, своими дикими выходками и причудами вплоть до запуска в публику стульями...’.⁷⁹ Выразительные свидетельства подобного рода есть также у В.А. Пестовского (Пяста), С.С. Петрова (Грааля Арельского), В.В. Смиренского (Андрея Скорбного) и других авторов.⁸⁰ Олимпов был радикально левым среди эгофутуристов и примыкавших к ним авторов, и его деятельность нередко выходила за пределы понимания соратников. Если до кончины Игнатьева Олимпов еще примыкал к эгофутуристическим объединениям (хотя и не бесконфликтно), то начиная с 1914 года и вплоть до ранних 1920-х его литературно-издательская деятельность развивалась в практической изоляции от всех группировок.

⁷⁷ [Фофанов К.К.]. Третье Рождество Великого Мирового Поэта Титанизма Великой Социальной Революции Константина Олимпова, Родителя Мироздания (примечание 64). — 4 с.обл.

⁷⁸ См.: Марков Владимир [Ф.]. (примечание 3). — С.505.

⁷⁹ РГАЛИ. — Ф.1152 (И.В. Лотарев (Северянин)). — Оп.1. — Ед.хр.13. — Л.9 (это из книги воспоминаний Северянина ‘Уснувшие вёсны’).

⁸⁰ См. подробнее: Из истории эгофутуризма (примечание 5). — С.223, 236; Никольская Т.Л. (примечание 5). — С.428-429.

Любые попытки современников идентифицировать Олимпова как участника какого-либо творческого коллектива воспринимались им резко негативно и решительно отвергались. Летом 1916 года, например, он, возмущенный тем, что московский коллега С.П. Бобров в одной из публикаций причислил его к эгофутуристической группе авторов, послал ему порицание, заключавшее также недвусмысленное предостережение от дальнейших попыток связывать в печати имя Родителя Мироздания с какими бы то ни было литературными партиями. На листовке 'Глагол Родителя Мироздания' Олимпов написал Боброву: 'У Меня в голове поднимается член Разу[ма] и в поллюции мысли бьет по голове Сер[гея] Боброва, говоря: "не причисляй никогда фен[омена?] Гениев Олимпова к какой-либо группе пар[тии?] пиитов, в противном случае я обоссу [тебя?] человеческой мочой в публичном зале земного зрелища". Автор [...]'.⁸¹

В отличие от многих сподвижников по эгофутуризму, Олимпов не декларировал своей политической индифферентности, и его печатная продукция, несмотря на ее внешне 'надреальное' содержание, вполне адекватно фиксировала колебания политической конъюнктуры. Так, добиваясь весной 1916 года в Главном управлении по делам печати разрешения на издание одной из своих листовок, Олимпов характеризовал собственное литературное и издательское творчество как политически актуальное: 'Я пишу для торжества славянской философии над тевтонской, поэтому мне должна быть предоставлена полная свобода печатать все то, что Я думаю. / Я считаю Себя Величайшим Мудрецом Мироздания, какой может существовать во Вселенных и в частности на земном шаре. / Вот почему, представляя в комитет по делам печати свой "Глагол Родителя Мироздания", покорнейше прошу членов цензуры дать разрешение напечатать его без вымарок для Моего личного удовольствия. "Глагол Родителя Мироздания" будет издан, в количестве 300 экземпляров, листами, формата писчей бумаги, по цене — одна тысяча рублей за лист. / К.К. Фофанов-Олимпов'.⁸²

Кроме того, творческая практика этого автора была тесно связана с культурным и идейным контекстом эпохи. Сам выбор Олимовым титула 'Родителя Мироздания', например, имел широко известный и обсуждавшийся в то время интеллигентным обществом прецедент: в январе 1916 года московское религиозно-философское издательство 'Путь' выпустило книгу 'Из рукописей Анны Николаевны Шмидт' (сами рукописи в течение некоторого времени до того имели хождение в литературных кругах обеих столиц).⁸³ Это издание произвело сенсацию, поскольку сочини-

⁸¹ РГАЛИ. — Ф.1718 (К.К. Фофанов (Олимпов)). — Оп.1. — Ед.хр.22. — Л.2. Надпись датирована 20 августа (2 сентября) 1916 года.

⁸² Там же. — Ед.хр.30. — Л.1 (это письмо Олимпова в ГУДП, от 8 (21) марта 1916 года).

⁸³ См.: КЛ ГУДП (Пг.). — 1916. — 23 января [(5 февраля)]. — № 3. — С.8. — № 1245.

тельница обнародованных текстов утверждала, что является четвертой ипостасью Бога, Софией.⁸⁴ Выпуская листовку ‘Глагол Родителя Мироздания’, таким образом, Олимпов оперативно реагировал на злобу дня.

О жесткой ориентации Олимпова на интересы современной ему аудитории говорит и тот факт, что всю свою печатную продукцию он распространял по редакциям периодических изданий и популярным литераторам. При этом он не делал различия по политической, эстетической или жанровой специализации адресата. Так, ‘Эпоха Олимпова’ была разослана им (с 30 апреля (13 мая) по 14 (27) июня 1914 года) по 130 адресам: в редакции ‘Биржевых ведомостей’, ‘Колокола’, ‘Миссионерского обозрения’, ‘Нижегородского листка’, ‘Нового Сатирикона’, ‘Речи’, ‘Сатирикона’, ‘Утра России’ и других периодических изданий, а также большому числу авторов — как правых, так и левых политических взглядов, как сочувствовавших футуристам, так и, напротив, нападавшим на них, — Л.Н. Афанасьеву, С.П. Боброву, В.Я. Брюсову, В.П. Буренину, Г.В. Иванову, А.А. Измайлову, Н.И. Кульбину, М.О. Меньшикову и многим другим.⁸⁵ ‘Исход Родителя Мироздания’ разошелся (с 4 (17) января по 19 февраля (4 марта) 1917 года) по еще большему количеству адресов: Олимпов отправил экземпляры своего издания в 142 места — в столичные, провинциальные и даже зарубежные печатные органы разных направлений (в Петрограде, Москве, Архангельске, Ашхабаде, Благовещенске-на-Амуре, Вологде, Киеве, Кишиневе, Кронштадте, Нарве, Нижнем Новгороде, Ново-Николаевске, Омске, Риге, Ростове-на-Дону, Харбине, Ярославле и многих других городах), а также по частным адресам — С.П. Боброву, В.А. Бонди, В.Я. Брюсову, В.П. Буренину, А.А. Измайлову, Н.В. Корнейчукову (К.И. Чуковскому), М.О. Меньшикову, В.В. Розанову, И.И. Ясинскому и другим литераторам и журналистам.⁸⁶ Еще более пространным был список адресатов ‘Паррезии Родителя Мироздания’: с 20 по 28 сентября (с 3 по 11 октября) 1917 года Олимпов разослал эту листовку по 167 адресам. На этот раз поэт отправил свое издание не только ведущим литературным критикам и редакциям газет и журналов (география и ориентации которых были

Издание поступило в ГУДП с 14 (27) по 21 января (3 февраля).

⁸⁴ См. подробнее: *Голлербах Е.А.* Путник запоздалый: П.А. Флоренский и московское религиозно-философское издательство ‘Путь’ // *Solanus (London)*. — New Series. — Vol.8. — 1994. — pp.69-70; *Голлербах Евгений [А.]*. К незримому граду: Религиозно-философская группа ‘Путь’ (1910-1919) в поисках новой русской идентичности / Под общ. ред. М.А. Колерова. — СПб.: Алетейя, [1999; указ.: 2000]. — С.209-213.

⁸⁵ См.: РГАЛИ. — Ф.1718 (К.К. Фофанов (Олимпов)). — Оп.1. — Ед.хр.16. — Л.14-15 об. (это список адресов рассылки, составленный Олимповым).

⁸⁶ См.: Там же. — Л.2-5 об. Здесь же (Л.12-а) см. копии дарственных надписей, которыми Олимпов снабжал некоторые из рассылаемых экземпляров (Л.Н. Афанасьеву, Ф.Д. Батюшкову, В.Я. Брюсову, С.А. Венгерову и другим).

самыми разнообразными), но и — десяток экземпляров — Всероссийскому Церковному собору, заседавшему в то время в Москве,⁸⁷ — чем вновь подтвердил свое намерение не отставать от процессов, идущих в стране. В пореволюционный период Олимпов активно продолжил общественно-политические усилия разного рода,⁸⁸ в частности широко применяя апробированную ранее тактику тотальной рассылки тиражей своих изданий. ‘Анафему Родителя Мироздания’ он разослал с 6 апреля по 27 сентября 1922 года по 47 адресам в Петрограде, Москве, Баку, Гомеле, Ростове-на-Дону, Риге, Берлине, Флоренции и других городах страны и мира.⁸⁹ ‘Третье Рождество’ было распространено с 7 октября по 9 ноября 1922 года по 114 адресам в Петрограде, Москве (среди прочих адресатов были Л.Д. Бронштейн (Троцкий), А.В. Луначарский, В.И. Ульянов (Ленин)), Архангельске, Баку, Берлине, Гомеле, Киеве, Костроме, Ревеле (Таллине), Риге, Ростове-на-Дону, Харькове и других городах в советской России и за границей.⁹⁰

Можно видеть, таким образом, что почтовые расходы Олимпова составляли весьма значительную, если не бóльшую часть его общих расходов, связанных с издательской деятельностью. Распространение литературы не только не компенсировало его первоначальных, типографских затрат, но и существенно увеличивало их. В отличие от Северянина и Игнатьева, имевших необходимые им средства для издательских опытов, потомственный свободный художник и алкоголик Олимпов был вынужден тратить на рассылку своих листовок последние деньги, и по причине их хронической нехватки процесс этот затягивался иногда на месяцы.

Тем не менее, тратить на почтовые услуги имело, как он считал, прямой смысл. Распространяя свои тиражи, Олимпов решал сразу две насущные задачи.

Во-первых, подобно его коллегам-соперникам Северянину и Игнатьеву, он искал известности, — совершенно не заботясь о ее качестве. Именно этим объясняется неразборчивость Олимпова в выборе адресатов: желательны были любые отклики, хотя бы и в юмористическом издании. Частота упоминаемости имени в прессе казалась ему верным показа-

⁸⁷ Там же. — Л.7-12. По замыслу Олимпова, экземпляры его издания должны были быть вручены председателю Собора, товарищу (заместителю) председателя, секретарю, представителю духовенства, представителю мирян, представителю монастырей, представителю левого крыла, представителю правого крыла, представителю центра и просто сознательному члену.

⁸⁸ См. подробнее: Из истории эгофутуризма (примечание 5). — С.212-215.

⁸⁹ См.: РГАЛИ. — Ф.1718 (К.К. Фофанов (Олимпов)). — Оп.1. — Ед.хр.16. — Л.16-16 об. Кроме того, см. соответствующий фрагмент позднейших (1970-х годов) воспоминаний В.В. Смиренского: Из истории эгофутуризма (примечание 5). — С.232-233.

⁹⁰ См.: РГАЛИ. — Ф.1718 (К.К. Фофанов (Олимпов)). — Оп.1. — Ед.хр.16. — Л.17-17 об.

телем успеха.

Во-вторых, в отличие от многих коллег, поэт пытался извлекать из своей издательской деятельности некоторый доход. Это ему удавалось, во многом благодаря именно широте охвата читательской аудитории. Деньги, которые получал в результате Олимпов, были не доходом от продажи его печатной продукции (ни по фантастическим ценам, которые автор указывал в своих листовках, ни по каким-либо другим продать их было невозможно), а подаянием. В печатных поэтических текстах или в сопровождающих их заметках, начиная с зимы 1915 года, Олимпов рассказывал читателям о своей нищете и тяготах жизни и просил о материальной помощи. На обложке брошюры ‘Феноменальная Гениальная Поэма Теоман Великого Мирового Поэта Константина Олимпова’ был напечатан следующий текст: ‘Оглашение. / Человечество не может себе представить, что Великий Мировой Поэт Константин Олимпов не в состоянии заработать даже одной тленной копейки, чтобы приобрести себе насущных макарон для поддержания своей планетной оболочки. Он умирает от голода и нищеты. / К.К. Фофанов-Олимпов. / Петроград, Левашовский пр.[оспект], 4, кв.[артира] 34’.⁹¹ Цена этого издания была назначена автором в 100 рублей. Стоимость следующего издания Олимпова — листовки ‘Глагол Родителя Мироздания’ — была уже ‘одна тысяча рублей за прочтение’.⁹² В тексте ‘Глагола’ описывалась тяжелая жизнь автора. В следующей листовке — ‘Прозимий Родителя Мироздания’ — поэт формулировал совершенно определенно: ‘Обязую всякое читающее ухо высылать, сколько которое может, денег К.К. Фофанову (Петроград, Широкая [улица], 39, кв.[артира] 12) для просеивания мебельной одежды планеты сквозь решето суточного движения мозга на земном шаре’.⁹³ Аналогичный призыв содержался и в последнем предреволюционном издании Олимпова — листовке ‘Паррезия Родителя Мироздания’: ‘Зрячим нервам земного шара следует прислать бесплатно К.К.Фофанову (Петроград, Широкая [улица], 39, кв.[артира] 12) книги печатной науки по философии, психологии, математике, химии, богословии [*sic* — Е.Г.], зоологии, ботанике, физике, астрономии, механике, истории, медицине, геодезии, метеорологии, электротехнике, авиатике, фонетике, литературе и мифологии народов (можно на французском, английском, немецком языках) для установки на циферблате мозга в универсальном пантеоне мышленья часов периодической Таблице Разума, создаваемой Родителем Мироздания — Константином Олиповым, благодаря которой человек

⁹¹ Феноменальная Гениальная Поэма Теоман Великого Мирового Поэта Константина Олимпова (см. примечание 66). — 3 с.обл. (курсив Олимпова).

⁹² См. примечание 67.

⁹³ См. примечание 68.

ество планеты постигнет новые тайны Природы’.⁹⁴

Поскольку впоследствии эта тактика применялась поэтом неоднократно, можно судить, что она давала запланированные результаты.

Одним из постоянных адресатов, которому Олимпов высылал свои издания, был Брюсов.⁹⁵ Московский мэтр оказывал петроградскому коллеге денежную поддержку, что давало тому возможность время от времени издавать собственное творчество. Получив весной 1916 года от Олимпова листовку ‘Глагол Родителя Мироздания’, полную поэтических жалоб на трудности нищенского существования, Брюсов весьма негативно оценил литературное качество полученного, но ужаснулся изложенным в листовке подробностям быта ее автора. ‘[...] Я с этим не могу примириться, — написал он Олимпову. — Милый поэт, напишите мне, и я постараюсь сделать, сколько умею, чтобы “это” [то есть жалкое житье корреспондента. — Е.Г.] сколько-нибудь изменилось. Так — нельзя, так — не должно быть’.⁹⁶ Олимпов сразу ответил письмом, в котором подтвердил свои творческие воззрения и трудное материальное положение, запечатленные в посланной ранее листовке: ‘Пасхальный Валерий Яковлевич! / Вы хотите знать от Меня, почему Я называю Себя Великим Мировым Поэтом? Да, именно Я — Он Самый — Я — Родитель Мироздания, Великий Мировой Поэт Константин Олимпов, Я — Исключительный, Я — Единственный, Я — Самый Светлый Человек, Какой Возможен В Мироздании. [...] Познаваемое Душой Я передаю осязаемым Словом. / Но разве возможно в России напечатать все написанное Мной. Россия уснула в схоластике духовного режима. Все Великое в России кажется смешным и ненормальным. / Поэтому не удивляет Меня, что Мое ложе для планетной оболочки составляют сундуки накрытые тряпками, вместо матраса, да поленья вместо подушки. Восхитительно! Об остальном дополнено в “Глаголе”. / Здоровье Моих легких надорвано, Я скоро скину земной чехол. / Загробный с Вами / Константин Олимпов’.⁹⁷ Потрясенный Брюсов дал Олимпову денег. Некоторое время спустя тот вновь напомнил о себе: ‘Зрячее Ухо, Валерий Яковлевич! Хочу получить 31 рубль на издание “Прозимия Родителя Мироздания”. / В Ожидании Ответа, / Думающий, Наедине Сердца, / С Вами / К.Олимпов’.⁹⁸ Ветеран русского символизма, осознав, какую роль предлагает ему

⁹⁴ См. примечание 70. Курсив Олимпова.

⁹⁵ См. составленные Олимповым списки адресов рассылки его изданий: РГАЛИ. — Ф.1718 (К.К. Фофанов (Олимпов)). — Оп.1. — Ед.хр.16.

⁹⁶ Там же. — Оп.3. — Ед.хр.42. — Л.1 (это письмо от 10 (23) апреля 1916 года). Курсив Брюсова.

⁹⁷ РО РГБ. — Ф.386 (В.Я. Брюсов). — Карт.106. — Ед.хр.40. — Л.3-4 (это письмо от 16 (29) апреля 1916 года).

⁹⁸ Там же. — Л.5 (это письмо от 5 (18) июля 1916 года). ‘Зрячее ухо’ — образ, использованный Олимповым ранее в стихотворении ‘Буква Маринетти’ (1914).

играть теперь петроградский издатель-футурист, после некоторой паузы ответил ему: ‘Вчера я распорядился, чтобы Московский Литературно-Художественный Кружок перевел на Ваше имя 25 руб.[лей] — *taximum* того, чем я могу распоряжаться по своему личному усмотрению. Если Вы, как писатель, нуждаетесь в некоторой помощи, я посоветовал бы Вам обратиться в Чеховскую комиссию того же Л.[итературно]-Х.[удожественного] Кружка (Москва, Б.[ольшая] Дмитровка, д.[ом] 3), а я с своей стороны употреблю старания, дабы Ваше обращение было встречено благосклонно. / Простите, что пока оказываю Вам столь небольшую услугу: делаю, что могу’.⁹⁹ Хотя этим письмом Брюсов ясно дал понять Олимпову, что не намерен в дальнейшем лично оплачивать его издательские инициативы, полученных при его содействии общественных денег хватило на производство очередной листовки — ‘Прозмий Родителя Мироздания’, — которая вышла в свет непосредственно после этого и вновь содержала жалобно-агрессивные призывы Олимпова помочь.¹⁰⁰

Поскольку денег все-таки не хватало, печатные воззвания Олимпов дублировал в личной переписке. В послании к Афанасьеву (осень 1915 года) он писал, например: ‘[. . .] Я требую от человечества материального обеспечения потому, что оно не может себе представить, что Великий Мировой Поэт Константин Олимпов не в состоянии заработать даже одной тленной копейки, чтобы приобрести себе насущных макарон, для поддержания своей плотской оболочки. Он умирает от голода и нищеты. Принимаю пожертвования деньгами, мебелью, одеждой и провизией. (Мой адрес: Петроград, Широкая [улица], 39, кв.[артира] 12). [. . .] Разрешаю настоящее письмо предать гласнос[ти]’.¹⁰¹

Можно заключить, что Олимпов неожиданным образом развивал популярную в то время в творческой среде доктрину соединения искусства с жизнью. Если многие художники, от символистов до футуристов, преобразовывали свой стиль жизни, личный образ и манеру поведения в соответствии с творческими идеалами и таким образом старались ‘возвысить’ быт до требований творчества, то Олимпов избрал иной, совершенно новаторский путь: он низвел свою литературу до уровня бытовых неурядиц и сделал событием национальной культуры свое трудное материальное положение. Печатный станок он использовал для тиражирования жалоб на жизнь. Отчасти это было созвучно архаической народной традиции плачей, причитаний, скорбных песен. Это, безусловно, предвосхитило некоторые творческие находки В.В.

⁹⁹ РГАЛИ. — Ф.1718 (К.К. Фофанов (Олимпов)). — Оп.3. — Ед.хр.42. — Л.4 (это письмо от 21 сентября (4 октября) 1916 года). Курсив Брюсова.

¹⁰⁰ См. примечание 93.

¹⁰¹ РГАЛИ. — Ф.1718 (К.К. Фофанов (Олимпов)). — Оп.1. — Ед.хр.27.

Розанова.¹⁰² Искусство Олимпова явилось также трезвой и вполне пародийной по своему смыслу репликой на популярное и последовательно пессимистичное творчество А.А. Ахматовой, как и многих других модернистов 1910-х годов. Впоследствии достижения Олимпова были переосмыслены В.В. Маяковским и реализованы в его пооктябрьском творчестве в качестве программной установки: литература должна служить утилитарному. Еще позднее это неожиданным образом отразилось в целом ряде произведений соцреализма, где описания тех или иных социальных несправедливостей совершенно прагматично использовались в целях коммунистической пропаганды.

Для осуществления своих издательских проектов Олимпов использовал также небольшую пенсию, которую он получал за мать, Л.К. Фофанову (урожденную Тупылеву), неоднократно и подолгу находившуюся в психиатрической лечебнице.¹⁰³ Вероятно, поэтому, несмотря на все просьбы матери забрать ее домой, он не делал этого. Что тоже определенным образом характеризует его место в культурной ситуации.

Творческий радикализм Олимпова эпатировал консервативную публику, и та неизменно негативно реагировала на его публикации и устные выступления. '[...] Печатные камни статей газетной брани толпа подбирает и пятнает ими мой путь на тротуаре России, — сетовал Олимпов в одном из частных писем 1915 года. — В это время обо Мне ходят сплетни, что Я ненормальный, что Я сумасшедший, — но это все ложь. [...] За публичные выступления меня присуждают к семидневному аресту судом, где я говорил, что трезвым бываю только во сне, а в суете будней всегда становлюсь пьяным и [...] выливаю ртом ядовитые слова, которые есть рефлекторный кашель Моего Горла'.¹⁰⁴ Положение литературного изгнанника, впрочем, не только устраивало, но и намеренно создавалось Олимовым, всеми возможными средствами крепившего свою репутацию юродивого.

¹⁰² Следует помнить и о прямом соответствии литературной практики Олимпова с творчеством Розанова: впоследствии, в 1917-1918 годах, Розанов использовал опыт петроградского эгофутуриста, известный ему (см. олимповские адреса рассылки: РГАЛИ. — Ф.1718 (К.К. Фофанов (Олимпов)). — Оп.1. — Ед.хр.16), — через выпуски 'Апокалипсиса нашего времени' обращаясь к читателям за помощью. См.: Письма В.В. Розанова к Э.Ф. Голлербаху / [Подгот. текста, публ. и коммент. Е.А. Голлербаха] // Звезда (СПб.). — 1993. — [№] 8. — С.131. Имеют много общего и антихристианские мотивы в творчестве Розанова и Олимпова.

¹⁰³ См. письма Л.К. Фофановой к сыну, хранящиеся ныне в его фонде в РГАЛИ.

¹⁰⁴ РГАЛИ. — Ф.1718 (К.К. Фофанов (Олимпов)). — Оп.1. — Ед.хр.27. — Л.5-5 об., 4 об. (это письмо к Л.Н. Афанасьеву, от 18 (31) октября 1915 года).

Reviews

J. E. Horváth, *A Canadian Collection of Hungarica*, vol. 1: *Books 1494–1819*; vol. 2: *Maps and City Views*. Vancouver, 2001. 2 vols. 356, 159 pp. Indexes. No price available.

This is a work that arose from a lifetime passion for book collecting and reading, we are told by the Canadian bookseller John King. Unlike many short-title catalogues compiled nowadays over a short space of time and with electronic assistance, this is an exhaustive, thoroughly researched annotated description of a rare collection of Hungarica, assembled over the past forty years on the north-west coast of Canada. Limited information about the compiler is supplied by John King in his information sheet about the work.

Jenő Horváth was born in Győr, Hungary in 1920. Having graduated from the High School of the Cistercian Order in Budapest and studied history of Hungarian and French literature, he survived World War II, fascism, communism and the doomed 1956 uprising. As so many of his compatriots, he left Hungary in 1957 and emigrated to Canada to settle in Vancouver. Here, in his spare time he resumed his studies, book collecting and reading, to rebuild the library he left behind in Hungary and gain the experience which made him the passionate bibliographer he was to become.

Part of the collection described in this impressive two-volume work was acquired at European book auctions in Austria, Germany and England, but the most choice items came from the Hungarica collector, Thomas Perczel in Vancouver, who decided to sell his library.

In his very helpful, detailed notes to the reader the compiler specifies the territories understood to be parts of 'Historical Hungary' in addition to those of present-day Hungary. That these are included in his scope is evident from imprint details, and further clarified in the invaluable Guide to Place Names in Historical Hungary and Transylvania, at the end of the volume, which has a listing of Hungarian names followed by their Latin, German version and present-day names (with a note of the country they are now in).

Volume 1 describes a selection of 266 books from the collection, published between 1494 and 1819. While Hungarica in traditional cataloguing practice often means works printed in the Hungary of the time, in whatever language, and all books in or containing a significant amount of Hungarian, wherever published, in this work the term also includes works of Hungarian interest, regardless of language and place of publication. This latter category comprises the largest section of the Books volume. The author indicates the broad subject area to which each item is assigned: dictionaries, encyclopaedias, religion, literature, history, law, geography, travel, topography, atlases, and map col-

lections. Descriptions are truly exhaustive: listed in chronological order, the author's name is shown as on the title-page, followed in parentheses by the form used in modern reference works. Titles are extensively reproduced, with information about the author and at times indication of the contents. The photographic reproduction of each title-page provides additional help in the identification and comparison of copies and variants held in other libraries. Being able to see title-pages, as well as text engravings, frontispieces and a selection of head-pieces and tail-pieces, creates the impression of holding the original works.

The lay person with difficulty in recognising Latin or German place names is assisted by imprint details including the present name and country. Bindings are described in detail, and provenance is similarly well covered, comprising previous owners' names on bookplates, rubber stamps, and ownership signatures. Ninety-one books were in the possession of and purchased from Thomas Perczel. The description area, along with the usual details of extent, illustrations, dimensions, offers information on special features of the copy in hand such as printing errors and imperfections—foxing, browning, worm-holes, etc.

The notes are the highlight of the entire work. It is in this field that Horváth's comprehensive knowledge of Hungarian history and culture, printing and publishing history and his general affection for books comes to the fore. After the edition statement and comparison of various further existing editions, he continues with a brief summary of the work in hand. Each catalogue entry is a learned incursion into the life, times and work of the author followed by the role and significance of the printer/publisher. Item no. 9, *Conciones*, a rare work by the Hungarian polymath Joannes Sambucus (1531–1584), not held in the British Library, is a good case in point. It includes a translation into Latin of Xenophon's speeches in Greek, *Oratores ante poetas*, which Sambucus wrote in Paris in 1551, as well as poems, odes and epigrams. Purchased from Bernard Quaritch Ltd in 1998, it formed part of Richard Heber's rich library once split between several houses in London, Oxford and the Continent.

In addition to the factual information supported by a wealth of reference sources, Horváth includes rather personal biographical details for the reader's entertainment. In item no. 157, *Transsilvania*, the notes divulge the author József Benkő's practice of performing illegal marriage ceremonies, for which he was fined and later sentenced to life imprisonment.

The greatest strength of this comprehensively annotated work is the fact that for the first time it makes information on a significant number of old and rare books in Latin, German, Hungarian, French, Italian and English of Hungarian interest available to the English-speaking public. As with all such bibliographies, the indexes are of great importance, and those provided in volume 1 are excellent. The classified index groups the works by subject, while the

historical name index includes authors and the names of all those mentioned in titles and notes, as well as names of printers and publishers.

BL 1995 in the Bibliography of Reference Works stands for the *Short-Title Catalogue of Hungarian Books Printed before 1851 in the British Library*, compiled by Geoffrey Arnold. Horváth failed to trace copies of a small number of his books in this catalogue, possibly due to a different choice of heading, while other works although present in the BL general collections, had not been entered in *BL 1995* because they did not fulfil the criteria of *Hungarica*, as defined by Arnold.

Volume 2 of *A Canadian Collection of Hungarica, Maps and City Views 1493–1817*, falls beyond the scope of this review. The two volumes, however, organically belong to one another and constitute a valuable contribution to the study of Hungarian cultural history.

BRIDGET GUZNER

The British Library

Bibliografie americké literatury v českých překladech: knihy, neperiodické publikace, periodika s nejvýše dvanácti čísly ročně, samizdatové a exilové časopisy a fanziny do roku 1997 (Bibliography of American literature in Czech translation: books, non-periodical publications, periodicals with up to twelve issues a year, samizdat and exile periodicals and fanzines to 1997), ed. Marcel Arbeit, comp. Marcel Arbeit and Eva Vacca. Olomouc, Votobia, 2000. 3 vols. xiv, 1867 pp. Bibliography. Index. Price ca. £60.00.

The publication of this bibliography commemorates the 200th anniversary of the appearance of the first translation of a work of American literature into the Czech language in 1798. The three-volume bibliography represents six years' work by a small, dedicated team of researchers lead by Marcel Arbeit from the University of Olomouc.

The coverage is mainly of fiction, poetry, drama and non-fiction in the field of humanities and social sciences. Light reading of all kinds is also included as is children's literature, although the compilers stopped short of comics. Criteria for inclusion are described in detail in the introduction, which is in both Czech and English. The editor has also provided, in both languages, a short outline of the development of Czech translation of American literature from its inception to the end of 1997, describing the specificity of individual periods as well as paying a tribute to publishers and the lesser known or still underrated translators who made a significant contribution to the promotion of American literature among Czech readership.

The bibliography's main filing order is alphabetical according to author's name and subdivided into fifteen categories according to genre: novels, collec-

tions of stories and tales, poetry, plays, screenplays, radio features, non-fiction, excerpts, interviews, adapted or abridged works, pieces specifically written for Czech periodicals and never issued in English, published correspondence between Americans and Czechs, etc. The order within each category is alphabetical according to the original English title.

Author coverage ranges from well-known names spread over several pages (Ernest Hemingway, pp. 698–710, Jack London, pp. 931–970, Edgar Allan Poe, pp. 1192–1221, for example) to minor writers or poets with perhaps just one story or poem in an anthology (how many have heard of the poet Walter Lowenfels or the writer of western stories called Hapsburg Liebe?). In addition to the main author sequence there are several appendices which include: list of translated anthologies, misspelled names of American authors, misspelled translators, works attributed in Czech translations to other authors, works published in Czech without an author's or co-author's name, list of publishers, novels with separate pagination published in magazines and a list of indexed periodicals. There is also a very useful Czech-English glossary of terms used in the entries and a bibliography of reference works used. Instructions on how to use the bibliography are printed on the front and back cover versos and are in both English and Czech.

This bibliography is the result of perhaps the largest bibliographic project undertaken in the Czech Republic in recent years and the compilers have made an enormous contribution not only in bringing the material together but, equally, in identifying individual pieces. This in many cases involved some considerable detective work, given that it is often only in literature proper that references are made to original titles. A fair number of entries required verification not only of titles but also of writers, and a great deal of time and effort must have been spent in unearthing and checking the necessary data in a broad spectrum of subjects. This itself would represent countless hours of diligent searching even if originals were freely available, but it needs to be remembered that in reality most of the original material that needed to be consulted is not accessible in the Czech Republic, so the compilers were dependent on willing and reliable contacts abroad, both private and institutional. The long list of acknowledgements and thanks to libraries, librarians, researchers, authors, translators, collectors and all others who helped worldwide to track down relevant information is an indication of the time, effort and ingenuity involved. The only pity is that, presumably because of lack of space, the compilers did not include publication details of original works.

This valuable reference tool is the first instance where translations from one foreign language into Czech have been collected together in one bibliography. From the 1798 translation of *The true travels, adventures, and observations of captain John Smith . . .*, nineteenth-century translations of American fiction, the emergence of light reading between the two world wars, to what the editor

calls the 'golden age' of literature in translation at the end of the 1950s and the 1960s, when in the span of some fifteen years 'debt was paid' to many American classics, and further to the 1990s when it could be said that translated literature retaliated with a vengeance for its earlier neglect. While in the two previous decades the selection of works for translation was subject to censorship, the major factor in the post-communist era is commercial interest that has brought, together with wider choice, an influx of quick, more often than not bad quality translations. Today's bookshop windows feature more American titles than has ever been the case, but Czech fascination with American literature is nothing new. Anyone looking for answers as to why American literature is more popular than any other now has a bibliographic source to aid the search. This is a comprehensive, exhaustive and definitive work and will become an indispensable working tool for researchers into American influence in central Europe. American literature in Czech translation has moved from alternative to mainstream and will continue to play an important role.

DEVANA PAVLIK

The British Library

V. V. Kozhukhova, *Ekslibrisy i shtempeli chastnykh kollektzii v fondakh Istoricheskoi biblioteki* (Bookplates and book stamps from private collections in the Historical library). Moscow, Izdatel'stvo GPIB, 2001. 118 pp.

This reviewer believes he is not mistaken in suggesting that Russian libraries collectively have done more than any others in documenting bookplates to be found in their books or in bookplate collections which they happen to have formed or been presented by ex-libris collectors. This book is a handsome continuation of that tradition, and a harbinger of more to come from the State Public Historical Library of Russia, who have promised a series of studies on the subject (foreign libraries, including Poland; public and departmental libraries). Russian librarians understand that in concentrating upon provenance studies of this nature, they simultaneously bring special collections or individual volumes to the attention of their readers.

In this volume 176 bookplates, labels and humble book stamps have been chosen, each illustrated and thoroughly annotated in the best tradition of Udo Ivask, but more expansively. They are ordered alphabetically by owner of the bookplate, followed by a considerable biographical sketch where materials permit and an account of the personal library of the individual concerned. There is information about the acquisition of the books by the State Historical Library, whether the collection is kept as an integral unit or distributed amongst the general holdings, an account of the bookplate designer, and references to

secondary literature concerning each bookplate owner or the bookplate.

Many bibliophiles had more than one bookplate. If so, these are noted in the annotation, including the super-libros, if any. Although nineteenth-century bookplates predominate, modern gifts and acquisitions are represented by twentieth-century examples.

Several essential indexes reinforce the basic text: an index of bookplate owners and other persons mentioned in the annotations; an index of bookplate designers; and an index of monograms, initials and surnames incorporated in the bookplates. There is a 13-page bibliography of sources used, offering ample evidence of the compiler's erudition in preparing what should be for other libraries an essential reference acquisition and an exemplar of what might be done with their own collections.

Quibbles: there are merely three. Many illustrations are reduced. It would have been desirable to have the original dimensions and an indication of the amount of reduction. This helps in identifying variants of the originals, which sometimes exist in multiple sizes. The compiler would have benefited from greater access to Western literature on the subject, including *Bookplate International* and *The Bookplate Journal*. Both journals have carried and continue to publish numerous articles on Russian bookplates. Studemeister is represented in the bibliography, but not Pavlova's Western writings nor the NYPL catalogues. Nor is the compiler aware of Russian writings on bookplates which have been published abroad and exist only as samizdat in Russia. The Bogomolov manuscript (the long-awaited successor to Ivask) is not cited and presumably was not accessible. Finally, a casebound version of the book would have been welcome, as it is a major reference volume.

When one sees a book such as this, it must be asked why Russian librarians have so excelled in documenting their marks of provenance and Western circles done so comparatively badly. To be sure, tracing the diaspora of Russian private and public libraries after the 1917 revolutions was something of an end in itself—and a worthy one. But within Russia that element has been a minor factor. Instead we have evidence of pride in collection development and in laying the foundations of intellectual history as important private libraries are reconstituted through provenance indications. We have evidence of social history when we compare fashions and trends in bookplate design over time and with respect to personalities. We have what potentially must be a formidable marketing tool in attracting new acquisitions and donations by the manner in which we treasure those of the past. And we have book studies themselves, which surely must be missing something that the Russians have discovered.

W. E. BUTLER

University College London

Tatiana Kostaki, *Russian Library Treasures: an Index of National and Academic Libraries*. Russian cultural briefings, 1. Toronto, Russian Cultural Information Publications, 2000. viii+176 pp. Bibliography. Index. \$48.95.

This volume is planned as the first in a set of four, which the author hopes will 'provide detailed, systematic research and bibliographical information' on a wide range of Russia's cultural institutions. The remaining volumes are expected to deal with publishing, museums and religions. The libraries covered in this first volume range from the largest federal institutions to the fifty *oblast'* libraries of the Russian Federation: six sections list federal, special, university, republican, territorial (*krai*) and regional (*oblast'*) institutions. Six federal libraries are included: the Russian National and State Libraries, the State Public Historical Library, the Foreign Literature Library, the Russian State Art Library and the State Social and Political Library. Eight special libraries cover health, education, science and technology, law and administration. The section on university libraries comprises eight of the most venerable institutions only.

Each library's entry begins with its address (including an email address for the vast majority of even *oblast'* libraries) and the name of the director. Web addresses are supplied for many of the libraries. There then follows a historical note on the origin and growth of the library, though these notes are extremely brief in the case of the *oblast'* libraries, sometimes giving no more than the date of foundation. A figure of total holdings is followed by a list of special collections, presented as a series of bullet points. Each entry closes with a note about any publishing activity undertaken by the library and a brief mention of 'interlibrary connections' (i.e. book exchanges). A topical index assists the reader in locating holdings of interest. There is also a glossary of specialist terms used in the work—some may find the definition of Church Slavonic terms particularly helpful. The reason for the inclusion of an appendix giving the chronology of Russian rulers from Rurik to Nicholas II is less obvious, however.

The listing of holdings is often very detailed, giving information on individual early printed books or manuscripts held as well as named collections and characterisations of subject strengths. Perhaps it was inevitable that some descriptions would turn out to be so brief as to be almost useless, such as 'rare publications of the nineteenth century'. Dipping into some of the entries revealed a few oddities: that for the Russian National Library has an item headed 'Collection of West European manuscripts from the 10th century', which lists manuscripts dated from the fourth century to Mary Queen of Scots, while the entry for the All-Russian Library of State Literature includes the mysterious 'Needle's Gift'. Nevertheless, the accumulated information presented by this volume could benefit a wide range of researchers by providing some initial

leads towards the hitherto unsuspected presence of useful material in Russian libraries, not least material originating in Western Europe.

RAY SCRIVENS

Cambridge University Library

Russkaia periodicheskaia pechat': ukazateli sodержaniia, 1728–1995 (The Russian periodical press: indexes to its contents, 1728–1995), compiled by N. V. Nitkina. Russian National Library, Saint Petersburg, 1998. 799 pp.

For some reason the compilation of indexes to the contents of periodical publications has not been a task of first-ranking importance in libraries' plans. Perhaps this is because the editorial boards of the journals themselves produced indexes annually or at other intervals. But in reality retrospective indexes to the content of journals and other serial publications are not that common, and they are often difficult to locate. Now they are collected and presented to the user of this solid tome (the last 'Indexes to the contents of Russian journals and serials, 1755–1970', was published at the beginning of the 1970s). We now have at our disposal the key to the contents of Russian periodicals over the almost 270-year period of the development of the country's periodical press.

The guide lists 3500 indexes to the contents not only of journals, but of almanacs, collections of articles and bulletins in all fields of knowledge. There is no need to fetch annual volumes of publications and look through each issue from start to finish in order to find what you need. It is sufficient to look in this reference work to discover whether there is an index to the publication that interests you. But to familiarise yourself with it takes time and technique. It has two sections: the first contains general indexes, the second indexes to the contents of particular publications. In such bibliographical works the indexes are very important. Here we have three: a personal name index, a subject/thematic index, and an index of corporate bodies. One should note that the handbook contains only Russian-language publications which were issued on the territory of the Russian Empire, the USSR or the Russian Federation.

ELENA KOGAN

New York Public Library

Translated by RAY SCRIVENS

Beloe dvizhenie: katalog kollektsii listovok (1917–1920) (The White movement: a catalogue of the leaflet collection (1917–1920)), compiled by E. E. Alekseeva

et al. Russian National Library, Saint Petersburg, 2000. 504 pp.

This publication could be a great surprise for historians. Indeed, only a few of the Russian National Library's own staff were aware that in the bowels of their *spetskhran* lay bundles of anti-Soviet literature not listed in the library's inventories or included in its card catalogues. This *spetskhran* was scarcely accessible to readers or library staff until recently. Sorting and research into the contents of the files began in 1993. It turned out that the collection had been assembled by the historian N. V. Iakovlev, a specialist in the work of Pushkin and Saltykov-Shchedrin. It is to Iakovlev that the compilers of this book dedicate their work.

This catalogue is a unique piece of work. The project's director, G. V. Mikheeva, writes: 'Nothing more strikingly reflects each moment of history than a leaflet. Everything is mixed into it: blood and pain, hatred of the enemy and love of one's country, concern for friends and relatives and selfish greed, orders to execute deserters or those who have given sanctuary to the enemy, holiday greetings, poems, riddles, pamphlets and caricatures, posters and exhortations, telegrams and declarations.' In short, a mine of information about the period. One might recall the words of the famous émigré Russian philosopher I. A. Il'in, pronounced as early as 1926: 'The White struggle needs to be chronicled, not idealised.' This catalogue forms a solid basis for the creation of such a chronicle. The preface and introduction tell us what material there was and how the group went about compiling the catalogue. It is unusual for bibliographical works published in Russia to be accompanied by research articles—here the introduction (pp. 7–21) has 58 notes and the preface (pp. 22–37) has 22 notes.

The catalogue describes leaflets issued from November 1917 to September 1920 on the territory of the anti-Soviet governments of northern Russia, the Volga region, the Urals and Siberia. The compilers encountered great difficulties in devising a scheme for classifying the leaflets and a model for annotating them. The scheme adopted was based primarily on the various organisations in whose name the leaflets were written and published. They are all represented here—for instance, the Provisional Siberian Government (of P. V. Volgodskii) with all its ministries, Komuch and the Ufa Directorate, the Omsk Government, the Supreme Governor and Commander-in-Chief, the fronts, the Cossack forces, the Russian Army, and so forth. Within the divisions the leaflets were grouped by geographical designation—*oblast'*, *guberniia*, *krai*. The arrangement is simple and transparent. In all, 2420 leaflets are described.

It is clearly very difficult to depict adequately the content of such material in a single description, even with the aid of annotations. So in order to assist orientation six indexes have been compiled: titles, personal names, organisations and other groupings, geographical names, places of publication, and

publishers and printers. In addition there are three appendices, one of which is a 14-page list of sources used in the compilation of the catalogue. At the end are appended texts of some of the leaflets. Here is one of them:

Citizens! A wave of refugees has arrived in our town. People are fleeing with their families and children, leaving their homes, their family shelters, devastated, uprooted from their native soil. We have a sacred duty to shelter and comfort these unhappy refugees from the civil war. A committee set up by the Town Duma to assist the refugees is taking all measures towards relieving their desperate plight. A special commission delegated by the committee recommends a collection day on Saturday 2 August in aid of the refugees. We need collectors. The commission appeals to citizens of both sexes in Tobol'sk to take part in the collection. A register of collecting-boxes will be produced on Friday 1 August at seven o'clock in the evening in the Town Hall. Please donate, citizens! Every mite you give will be received with gratitude.

The Commission

It is a pity that such a work of reference does not come in a hard cover, but in paper covers, albeit illustrated. Against a red background appears a white flag bearing a portrait of Admiral Kolchak and adorned with the title of the catalogue in black lettering.

The collection has been filmed by IDC and this catalogue also serves the purpose of guide to their microfiche set.

ELENA KOGAN

New York Public Library

Translated by RAY SCRIVENS

Sotrudniki Rossiiskoi natsional'noi biblioteki—deiateli nauki i kul'tury: biograficheskii slovar', tom 2: *Rossiiskaia Publichnaia biblioteka—Gosudarstvennaia Publichnaia biblioteka v Leningrade 1918–1930* (Staff of the Russian National Library as scientific and cultural workers: a biographical dictionary, vol. 2: The Russian Public Library—State Public Library in Leningrad, 1918–1930). Russian National Library, Saint Petersburg, 1999. 704 pp.

The first volume of this long-planned project appeared in 1995 and contained biographies of those whose service in the library began between 1795 and 1917. Without even looking into this volume one can imagine what an interesting collection of staff must have been employed during this period of over 120 years: what personalities must have worked there, how this leading 'temple of knowledge' was created by their labours, and how this knowledge had its reflection in the printed word. Volume 1 covered the period when the library bore the title of Imperial Public Library, and it contained more than

400 biographies.

The dictionary was planned as a three-volume work. But already volume 2, containing 350 biographies from 1918–1930, reveals the restrictions this plan imposes. The library's staff expanded rapidly and was notable for its rapid turnover; the compilers therefore decided to exclude from the main section of the dictionary biographies of those who worked there for less than five years. The dictionary opens with a very detailed preface by L. A. Shilov and G. V. Mikheeva (46 pp.) which relates the history of the library at that period and the methods used to search out the documents which form the basis of the dictionary.

Each personal article consists of a biography and a block of bibliographical material (works of the individual, bibliographical guides, literature about the person, obituary notices, archives, iconography). A brief review cannot do justice to the full content of the dictionary, but an interesting statistic emerges. During the period covered by this volume the library's staff included 15 academicians and corresponding members of the Academy of Sciences, 23 philologists, 16 literary historians, 14 orientalists, 11 theologians, 47 historians, archaeographers and palaeographers, 14 art historians, 15 legal specialists, 16 teachers and 8 bibliographers, amongst whom were M. N. Kufaev, V. S. Liublinskii, A. I. Malein and A. G. Fomin.

The drily written biographies contain a mass of interesting facts, events and phenomena relating not only to the individuals but to the biography of the library itself. For this reason the compilers call their work a 'factographic handbook'. It will be useful not only to historians of libraries. It will interest all those who want to learn more of the fate of those historical personalities who, in various circumstances, found themselves beneath the roof of the library, and perhaps even had their lives prolonged thanks to their employment there. A number of major academics who were threatened by hunger, and later also by arrest, were accepted for employment on the recommendation of the library's director, Academician N. Ia. Marr, and other scholars. It appears that among the library's employees were quite a few 'socially alien elements, spies and counter-revolutionaries'. Of 350 employees about 60 were condemned by the 'troika', the OGPU, the NKVD. The majority were sent to labour camps, several were shot, and some even committed suicide. There were some who were dismissed 'in view of the reduction in staff numbers'; one could say that they were lucky, since at the time this formulation could sometimes lead to a prison sentence. Only a very few of those arrested and investigated were released and had their civil rights restored—one such was Academician E. V. Tarle.

ELENA KOGAN

New York Public Library

Translated by RAY SCRIVENS

Evgenij L. Nemirovskij, *Gesamtkatalog der Frühdrucke in kyrillischer Schrift*, Bd. IV: *Die Druckerei von Božidar Goraždanin in Goražde und Venedig. Die erste Druckerei von Božidar Vuković in Venedig*. Baden-Baden, Verlag Valentin Koerner, 2001. (Bibliotheca bibliographica Aureliana, 170.) 481 pp. Illustrations. Indexes. Bibliography.

A thoroughly researched survey of the earliest Slavonic Cyrillic printing is finally presented to the professional world by the most respected specialist in early Cyrillic printing, Evgenii L. Nemirovskii, doctor of history in Russia, who is a supreme expert not only in the history and historiography in this field but also in the art of printing and publishing books of that time, as well as all aspects of early-printed books.

It is appropriate that this highly specialised work, which gives information about the compiler's concept and methodology as well as the results of his long-term research, should be published in the prestigious series *Bibliotheca bibliographica Aureliana*. The first three volumes of the *Gesamtkatalog* dealt with printing from 1491 to 1519. (Volume 2 was reviewed in *Solanus* in 1998, and volume 3 in 2000.) The current fourth volume covers printing in the Serbian recension of Church Slavonic between 1519 and 1523, works published by Božidar Goraždanin in Venice and Goražde, as well as those published by the printing house of Božidar Vuković in Venice in its first years. In preparation are two more volumes which will bring to a close this chronological review of the earliest period of Cyrillic printing up to 1550.

This volume, like previous volumes of the *Gesamtkatalog*, has a substantial introduction in German and Russian, based on well documented bibliographical, historiographical and archival data and its interpretation according to the latest findings, including the results of the author's own research. The data cover the cultural and historical aspects of the origin of the printing houses, their founders and benefactors, publishers and printers, and finally individual editions of books.

The history of the printing house of Božidar Vuković in Venice, the successful Venetian merchant originally from Podgorica (Montenegro), is closely tied up with his interesting biography. As a prominent citizen, he was a benefactor as well as the chairman of the Brotherhood of Orthodox Greeks in Venice, one of the founders of the Greek Church of St George; for his contributions to diplomatic missions he was awarded a coat of arms and the title of duke. However, he is most to be praised for his contribution to printing. His intention was to help the abandoned Serbian churches in the Balkans which were deprived of books during the period of strong islamisation. Božidar Goraždanin, head of the Church of St George in Goražde on the river Drina and the founder of its printing house, worked on the same principle. Both printing houses produced their first Venice imprint in 1519, but then they drifted apart. Vuković's

printing press stayed in Venice and published Serbian books for another century due to the efforts of his followers. The other printing house moved to Goražde (Bosnia) where it worked for a shorter period of time. However it did not completely disappear and its successors continued to publish in Vlačka.

In his substantial introduction Professor Nemirovskii pays particular attention to the historiography of each edition, from its first mention and recording in the nineteenth century to the latest findings. In his discussion of the early literature the author focuses on many unexplained questions and on errors resulting from the inadequate knowledge of that time regarding some rare and controversial publications. This is particularly true in the case of later editions in which changes were made in the contents, with parts added or omitted (for example, shorter or expanded versions of Božidar Vuković's *Molitvenik*). From the very beginning very rare and mainly incomplete copies of such editions caused confusion in researchers' attempts to reconstruct them. He convincingly points out errors in identification or attribution, and discusses other issues, giving his own opinion. He pays the same attention to the visual and graphic design of the books and to other typographical and special features, as well as providing an account of the background to his research. Such a detailed examination of these two early printing houses and their books, in which almost all previous problems and information about them are summed up, makes this introduction a comprehensive study in its own right.

The descriptions of the books, in chronological order of date of publication, constitute the main part of the *Gesamtkatalog*. Eight editions are described, five of Božidar Vuković (*Psaltir* 1519, *Služebnik* 1519, *Molitvenik* 1520, *Psaltir s vosledovanjem* 1521, *Molitvenik* ca. 1521) and three of Božidar Goraždanin (*Služebnik* 1519, *Psaltir s vosledovanjem* 1521 and *Trebnik* 1521). In each description title and year of publication are followed by information on place of publication, publisher, printer and the date when the publication left the press, then by a short physical description and details of all graphic elements—illustrations, headpieces and initials. Description of contents includes either the titles or the opening words of each section of the book, in the original language and script. The author makes an important contribution to the disclosure of typographical variations, illustrated by examples. Publishers' and printers' afterwords are also given in full in the original language. Finally, there is a select bibliography and bibliographical sources.

Professor Nemirovskii is one of the few experts who enthusiastically takes every opportunity to visit monasteries, libraries and museums in order to collect original data and examine numerous copies of books. The current volume, as a result of such extensive research, brings to light a large number of new, and until now unknown copies from inaccessible and previously undescribed collections. Each entry contains a list of all extant copies, as well as those which are only known from the literature. It includes details of the place where each

copy is held, its shelfmark, whether it is complete (indicating the number of leaves in comparison with the foliation of the most complete existing copy), and of its binding. Manuscript annotations are given in their original language. The note of individual copies is followed by references to publications about that particular copy.

The wide range of indexes, such as index of personal names, of places where copies are held, arranged by country, town, then collection, chronological index of annotations in the copies, and an index of collations, facilitate access to the information in the catalogue. There is a separate bibliography on each printing house and a list of illustrations, headpieces and decorated initials with their size and folio numbers in the edition where they are to found. They are also reproduced at the end of the volume.

This volume of the *Gesamtkatalog* is a model of an extremely informative and comprehensive reference work, an invaluable and indispensable tool for research and scholarship.

KATARINA MANO-ZISI

National Library of Serbia

Translated by MAGDA SZKUTA

M. V. Zelenov, *Apparat TsK RKP(b)—VKP(b), tsenzura i istoricheskaia nauka v 1920-e gody. Monografiia*. Nizhnii Novgorod, Volga-Viatskaia akademiia gosudarstvennoi sluzhby, 2000. xvi+544 pp. Tables. No price indicated.

Until the late 1980s nearly all the published works on the Soviet system of censorship had, for obvious reasons, to be written by foreigners and émigrés and printed outside the USSR. Even before 1992, however, at least a few Russian scholars were furtively copying out materials in Soviet archives on post-Tsarist censorship operations in Russia, despite the probability that the fruits of their research would not be published in their lifetime, and by the mid-1990s a trickle of books and a stream of articles were appearing on this extremely important subject. Doctor of Historical Sciences Mikhail Zelenov is one such scholar, and the volume under review is the result of many years of dedicated and meticulous work and the first book in Russian to deal with the censorship of historians, historical writing, historical consciousness and, indeed, of history itself in Soviet Russia between 1917 and 1930. In the 1920s those involved in censoring the past (and therefore the present as well)—and they included a number of moderately professional Soviet historians—had to show that the victory of the Bolsheviks in 1917 was *zakonomerno* (which meant denigrating all the other political movements in Russia) and to build up the personality cult of Lenin—which was well underway before his death in 1924—at the same time as they downplayed the concept of the sometimes

crucial role of the individual in history. Zelenov's view of the problem is not as crude as this, but he makes it abundantly clear that for the great Bolshevik experiment to have any chance of success, once the October coup had taken place, there was simply no alternative to the imposition of the strictest controls over the writing, reading and perception of history so that both the past and the present could be mythologised by being written and rewritten in the interests of Communist expediency.

Zelenov is apparently the first (and possibly the only) person to have worked his way right through all the (very numerous) surviving minutes of the meetings of the Politburo, Orgburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee (CC) during the 1920s (everything in these minutes relating to history—broadly defined—is listed chronologically in an invaluable appendix on pp. 460–538). Chapter 1 examines the sources on and historiography of the Soviet censorship system. Chapter 2 discusses the period from 1917 to 1921, concentrating on the purges of archives and libraries at this time (see in particular pp. 70–72). Chapter 3 describes how the CC's Politburo, Orgburo and Secretariat actually functioned in the 1920s (their *deloproizvodstvo*, or record-keeping and paper-shuffling) and reveals the attention they paid to historical matters over the decade. Chapter 4 clarifies the work and functions of the Istpart (the body for the collection and study of materials on the history of the October Revolution and the Bolshevik Party, a component part of the CC's Secretariat) and the 'Institute of Lenin' (established in 1923), in particular their role in the purging of the archives and in the development of *spetskhrany* in the archives. Chapter 5 reveals that the first official head of Glavlit was not, as is widely thought, P. I. Lebedev-Polianskii but N. L. Meshcheriakov (see pp. 260–61) and spotlights the struggle for power and influence between Glavlit and the CC's Press Department. Chapter 6 has some interesting information on the historian V. I. Nevskii and on Glavlit's views on various historical publications. Chapter 7 sheds light on the purges of, and the *spetskhrany* in, Soviet archives and libraries and on the impossibility, by the late 1920's, of publishing any truthful general works on the history of the Russian revolutionary movement (by this time many early Soviet publications had been withdrawn as a result of the struggle within the Party). Chapter 8 contains a section on the notorious historian M. N. Pokrovskii and refers back to the first chapter in its attempt to provide a typology of the different kinds of documents produced by the CC apparatus.

Everyone who reads this monograph will find much that is new, interesting and important. Internal evidence suggests that the volume had to be produced in a hurry (it is poorly edited and proofread and there is no index), and the author describes so many trees that he himself (let alone the reader) sometimes finds it difficult to discern the general layout of the forest. There is more woolly conceptualisation than lucid contextualisation of the subject. However,

all those interested in Soviet history, historiography, historiosophy and censorship will discover a great deal of invaluable information here and hope that the author will be able to publish a similar volume on how the censorship of earlier and contemporary history proceeded in the 1930s.

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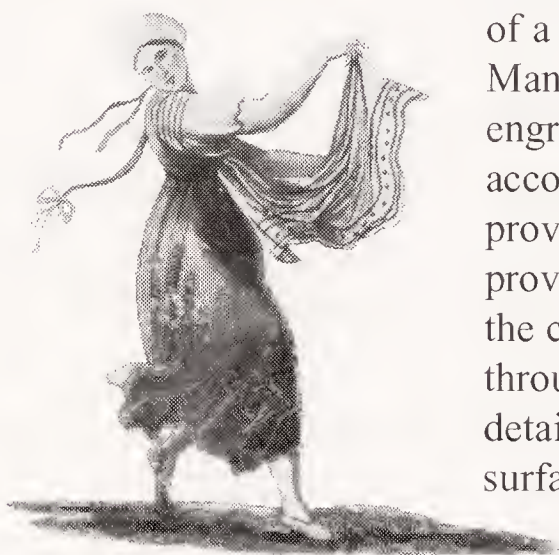
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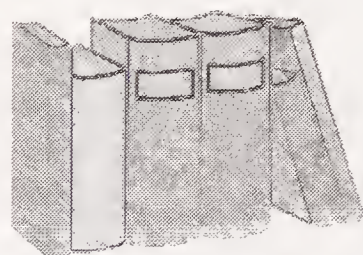
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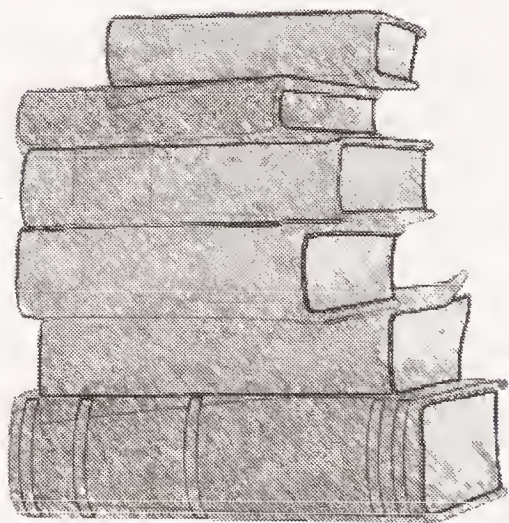
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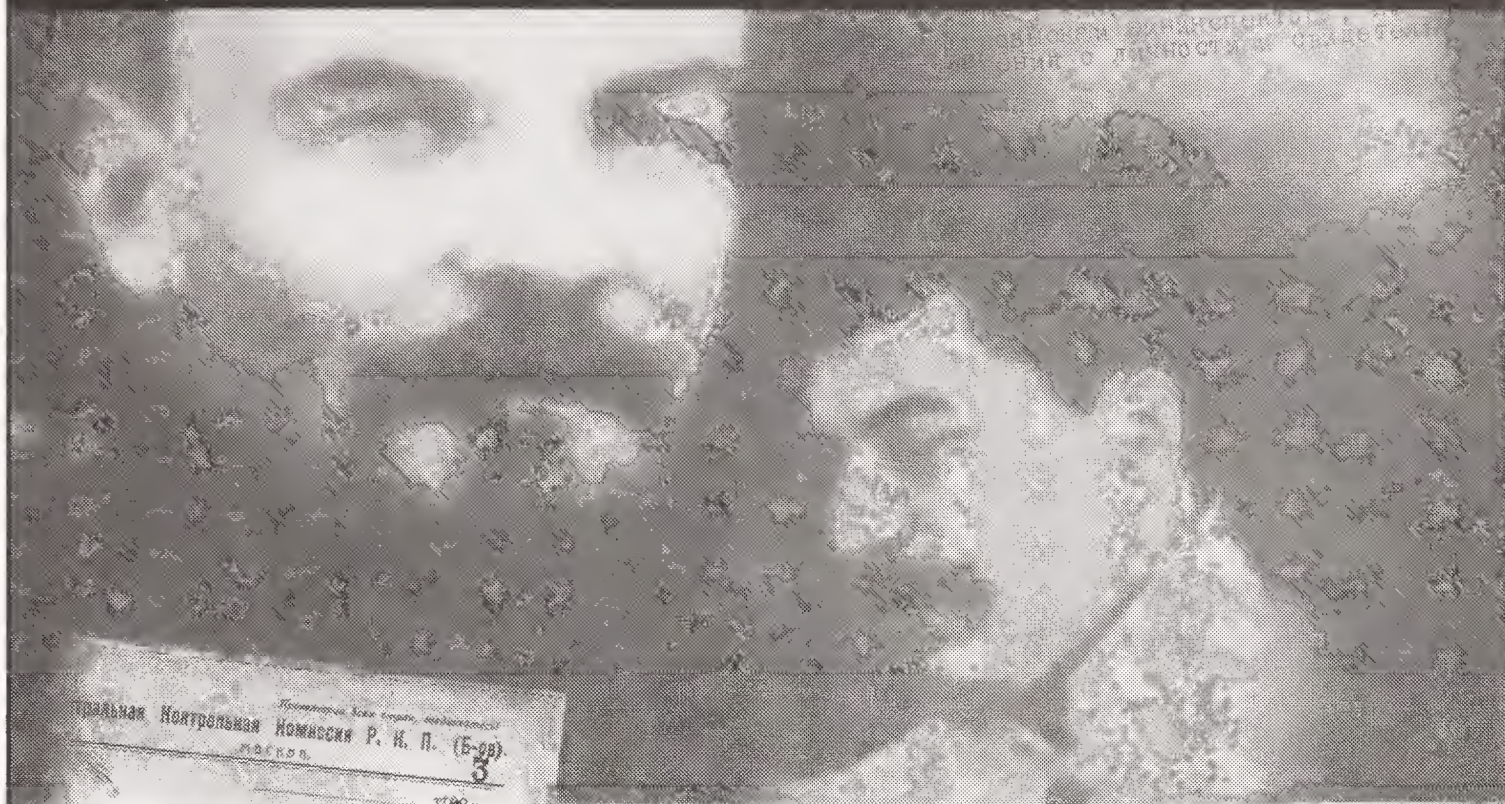
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